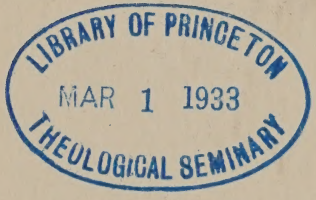


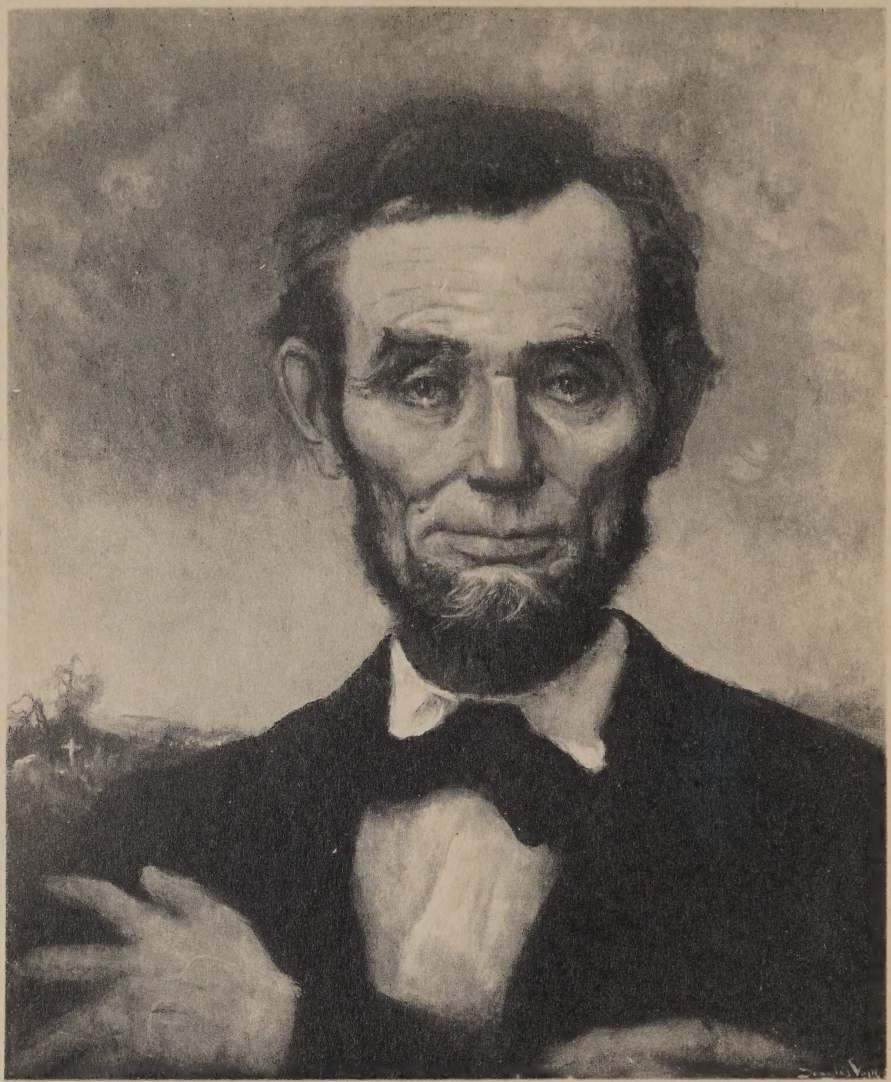
Division E457

Section .32.B24

THE LINEAGE OF LINCOLN

By WILLIAM E. BARTON

THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN
THE WOMEN LINCOLN LOVED
ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND WALT WHITMAN
THE GREAT GOOD MAN
THE BEAUTIFUL BLUNDER
MY FAITH IN IMMORTALITY
THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY



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Lincoln the Beneficent

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MAR 1 1933
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

The LINEAGE *of* LINCOLN

WILLIAM E. BARTON

ILLUSTRATED

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TO MY FRIEND

WILLIAM H. TOWNSEND

WHO HAS TRAVELED WITH ME OVER
THOUSANDS OF THE MILES THAT MADE
THIS BOOK POSSIBLE
AND WHO KNOWS THE LABORS, ADVENTURES, DISAPPOINTMENTS
AND OCCASIONAL REJOICINGS WHICH OUR PILGRIMAGES
EXTENDING OVER SEVERAL YEARS HAVE BROUGHT.

FOREWORD

No STUDENT familiar with Lincoln literature can doubt the urgent need of a reliable book dealing with the lineage of Abraham Lincoln. Such a book does not now exist and never has existed, and for lack of it the Lincoln literature of the last thirty years, the period in which the question of heredity has had a considerable place in Lincoln biography, has been and is a near approach to chaos. Every year addresses and sermons broadcast innumerable errors on this subject. There are two especial reasons why the present is an opportune time for such a book.

The first is the availability of the source material provided in Waldo Lincoln's massive work on *The History of the Lincoln Family.* No one is likely to add very greatly to the body of fact which this writer has collected concerning the family at large. I am indebted to Mr. Lincoln, as will appear in these pages. In some particulars I am able to supplement and correct his work.

The other reason is that my own studies undertaken for my several Lincoln books of the last decade have brought me knowledge possessed by no one else, enabling me to make a contribution to Lincoln genealogy which I did not anticipate when that study began. Some of the results of my own study have been published in my *Life of Abraham Lincoln* and other books, but there has been no occasion or opportunity to set forth in full my contribution to Lincoln genealogy.

On the paternal side, the Lincoln line has been investigated by careful and eminent men. I hardly expected to be able to add anything of importance to their work. I have, however, gone over the entire ground independently, and such additions as I have made will appear in the following pages.

It was through no plan or desire of my own that I became an

authority on the genealogy of the Hanks family. When I began publishing books about Abraham Lincoln I supposed that his ancestry on both sides had been investigated by experts whose results I was more than willing to accept without more labor than should be necessary to afford me an honest and independent judgment. I had no doubt that these authors had done their work well and were to be depended on. I had other and very definite plans. But I found that, while researches into the paternal line of Lincoln's descent had been fairly well performed, all that had been done to clarify the maternal line was much worse than worthless.

Furthermore, not many Lincoln authors have any idea of the means that would be necessary to begin to investigate the Hanks family. When my *Life of Abraham Lincoln* appeared in 1925, my esteemed and beloved friend, Miss Ida M. Tarbell, honored the book by a long and in the main commendatory review. Concerning what I said about the Hanks line she was more open-minded than most critics would have been whose opinions and published judgments were so flatly contradicted. I do not have her review with me, but she said in substance, and almost verbatim:

"Doctor Barton may be right, but what now is needed is that a skilled genealogist shall take this material, and go over the whole problem, deciphering the inscriptions on old tombstones, comparing records in old family Bibles, and give us a complete Hanks genealogy."

That genealogist is in heaven if he is anywhere. But when he comes and sets about this task, what will he do when he has wandered through one hundred and fifty years of Hanks burying-grounds and has not found one single stone with the Hanks name upon it? The Hankses, and their neighbors for the most part, both in Virginia and Kentucky, were content with a simple rough stone at the head of the grave, and sometimes another at the foot. And what shall the genealogist do when he sets out to collect family Bibles, and searches for two hundred years, and can not find that any Virginia or Kentucky Hanks owned one?

Even this is not a full statement of the difficulties. The Hanks family tradition would have been at best an uncertain source of knowledge, but it was hopelessly corrupted by those authors who, more than a quarter-century ago, infused into it a story so pleasant that the Hankses who knew of it gladly accepted it and did their best to incorporate it into their own. The palimpsest of the Hanks story as now told is a curious muddle, but there are Hankses and others who would gladly hold to it. For instance, Miss Tarbell attempts in one place to refute some of my documentary evidence by relating how, in 1891, the Hanks family in the vicinity of Quincy, Illinois, remembered and told an investigator, or rather a suggester (not Miss Tarbell), that when Lincoln used to practise law in Quincy he invariably stayed with his Hanks relatives, and called one of them "Uncle Joe." Well, he was Lincoln's great-uncle, and Lincoln probably would have called him "Uncle Joe" if he had visited him. But Lincoln, on July 21, 1860, declared in a letter to Honorable A. Jonas that he had been in Quincy but twice in his life, and on both occasions was there making political speeches. One of his debates with Douglas was in Quincy in 1858, and he certainly had no time for visiting the Hankses then, and the other time, as Lincoln's letter affirms, was in 1854, and he stayed at the Quincy House and left before daylight next morning. We simply can not trust the Hanks tradition where it has been tampered with by authors who want to prove a point of their own, and have assisted the Hankses to furnish the material which these authors wished. The supply has been equal to the demand.

Incidentally, this "Uncle Joe" died April 4, 1856, so he and Lincoln did not even meet on the one important visit of Lincoln to Quincy. We do not know that Lincoln ever saw him.

For two hundred years, from their first landing in Virginia, no member of the Hanks family, in the ancestral line of Abraham Lincoln, made one known scratch of pen to aid the genealogist, and the public records are almost incredibly scarce. Not only so, but wars from Bacon's Rebellion to the Civil War have wiped out completely

the records of some counties where our need was greatest. I present this work, therefore, not with apologies for the places where most diligent search has been able to disclose no documents, but with very great satisfaction that, in spite of these difficulties, I am presenting President Lincoln's ancestry on both the paternal and maternal sides, in lines which I am confident can not be broken.

This quest has carried me three times across the ocean, and has sent me to innumerable court-houses in Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois. I have made full use of the assistance of professional genealogists, and have profited by their service, but the Hanks family is their despair. Ordinary sources fail. Published results of previous investigations prove blind alleys or worse. When Miss Tarbell's heaven-sent genealogist arrives, where will he begin? And how much will he learn? If he learns anything that he can depend on, he will have to learn it out of this book.

I have no doubt that some critics reading these pages will think that I express too great confidence in my own judgments and show too little charity for some of those from whom I differ. They are mistaken. No one else can possibly be so well aware as I am of the limitations of this book, but its essential judgments will not be disproved. And if I seem to deal harshly with any who have written previously on this subject, my answer is that I have exercised great self-restraint, and could have said and proved, and still can say and prove, affirmations yet more severe.

My indebtedness to books is relatively small, and is acknowledged in the text. But my debt to individuals is greater than I can hope to acknowledge.

In England I name with appreciation Honorable A. H. Houghton, American Ambassador, the officials of the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane, and of the British Museum, the rectors and canons of Great Yarmouth, Hingham, Swanton Morley and Malmesbury, the Very Reverend Dean Burn, of the Cathedral of Salisbury, Mr. B. Howard Cunningham, Honorary Curator of the Wiltshire Archeological Society, Mr. Walter Rye, historian of Nor-

folk, and the Misses Louise and Elizabeth Hanks, of Malmesbury.

In this country my special thanks are due to Honorable William H. Townsend, of Lexington, Kentucky, with whom I have ridden many thousands of miles in quest of this material, and to our mutual friend Mr. Gayle A. Mohney, of the University of Kentucky, who often accompanied us. The Misses Mary A. and Martha Stephenson, of Harrodsburg, Kentucky, the former recently deceased, have won my affectionate appreciation, and I am indebted to Rev. Louis A. Warren, of Zionsville, Indiana, Mr. Oliver R. Barrett, of Chicago, Honorable Otis M. Mather, of Hodgenville, Kentucky, Mr. John J. Barry, of the *Rolling Fork Echo,* Honorable L. S. Pence, of Lebanon, Kentucky, Honorable R. C. Ballard-Thruston, of the Filson Club of Louisville, Mr. David G. Martin, of Antioch, West Virginia, Mrs. Nell M. Nugent, of the Land Office in Richmond, Virginia, Mr. E. Carter Delano, of Warsaw, Virginia, Rev. L. R. Combs, of Lancaster, Virginia, and Miss Bernice V. Lovely, of Colchester, Illinois. This is a most meager list, and I sincerely apologize to my scores of correspondents whose number forbids an attempt to mention them by name.

I must record my special thanks to the Bureau of the United States Census, the War Department, the Pension Bureau, and the Library of Congress, especially the Manuscripts Division and the Department of Bibliography. I must mention also the Chicago Historical Society's Library and the Newberry Library and the Public Library of that city, the Boston and Detroit Public Libraries, especially the Burton Collection in the latter, the Draper Collection in the State Historical Library of Wisconsin, the Durrett Collection in the Library of the University of Chicago; the libraries of Harvard University, the Lincoln Library of Brown University, the New York Public Library, especially its departments of Manuscripts and Reserved Books, the New England Historic-Genealogical Library of Boston, the State Library of Virginia, and the State Historical Society Libraries of Virginia, Kentucky, Massachusetts, and above all, of Illinois. Miss Georgia L. Osborne of that Society has placed me

under lasting and increasing obligations which I can not hope to repay, but shall surely increase.

For suggestions in the field of heredity, and for constant and helpful interest, I am indebted to Dr. William A. Evans, of the Chicago *Tribune.*

For the frontispiece I am indebted to Mr. Douglas Volk, of New York. Following in the footsteps of his father, Mr. Leonard W. Volk, whose casts of the living face and hands of Lincoln have given to all posterity the indubitable records now possessed by all sculptors of Lincoln, he has painted six notable portraits of Lincoln, the last of which, entitled *Lincoln the Beneficent,* has been kindly furnished for this book. Again I am indebted to Frederick Hill Meserve, of New York, to Herbert W. Fay, of Springfield, and to the collection of the Library of Brown University for illustrations. To Honorable William H. Townsend, Prof. John W. Wayland, Honorable R. C. Ballard-Thruston and Coyd Yost I am indebted for photographs, in addition to the debt I owe to some of them for literary material.

I have had occasion to use some of this material in other of my Lincoln books, but as here given it is connected and documented. I have had to lead to the scaffold and decapitate five very lovely ladies who have had a recognized place in the Lincoln literature of the last generation. They had been created out of the genealogical rib and had not a fig-leaf of fact to cover their nudity. My sorrow in having to put to death the fabulous Nancy Sparrow, made-to-order mother of Dennis Hanks, Mary Shipley Lincoln, fictitious wife of Captain Abraham Lincoln, Nancy Shipley Hanks, alleged grandmother of the President, Elizabeth Shipley Sparrow, created especially to be the wife of Thomas Sparrow, but much bigamized in the process, and "dear Aunt Lucy Berry," is somewhat mitigated by my having brought back from the dead two women who had been butchered by the biographers, Nancy Hanks Hall, the heiress of the spotted heifer, and especially Lucy Hanks.

Prefaces, though placed at the beginning of a book, are written

at what for the author is the end, and I should like to believe that some reader, knowing this, will turn back when the volume has been read, and glance again through this foreword, to discover with what degree of satisfaction, weariness or remorse the author lays down his pen. Gentle reader, the author, bowing low, makes humble apology for the necessity of taking you upon so hard and long a ride, but trusts that the sense of adventure and the love of truth will have made it easier than might otherwise have been. We have ridden far, having traversed the whole length of the Wilderness Road, and have stopped at many a cross-road to inquire the way. Often there was no one there to inform us. Much of our journey we have pursued where there was no highway, and we had to blaze a trail as we proceeded. We have ridden from cabin to cabin and from court-house to court-house, and it has not always been easy riding. But no one following our trail will be misled by our track or discover any important fork of the road where we have taken the wrong turning. We stand now in no pleasurable bog of delusion. Under our feet is the solid ground of reality. We will alight and lift our saddles. We have arrived.

WILLIAM E. BARTON

The Lincoln Room,
Pine Knoll on Sunset Lake,
Foxboro, Massachusetts.

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SEVEN GENERATIONS OF LINCOLN LINEAGE

I. Samuel Lincoln, of Hingham, England.
Born 1619, came to Massachusetts 1637 and died 1727.

II. Mordecai Lincoln, Sr.
Born 1657 and died 1727.

III. Mordecai Lincoln, Jr.
Born 1686 and died 1736.

IV. John Lincoln
Born 1716 and died 1788.

V. Captain Abraham Lincoln
Born 1744 and died 1786.

VI. Thomas Lincoln
Born 1778 and died 1851.

I. Thomas Hanks, of Malmesbury, England.
Came to Virginia before 1653, and was living there as late as 1674.

II. William Hanks, Sr.
Born c.1655 (?) and died 1704.

III. John Hanks
Born (?) and died 1740.

IV. Joseph Hanks
Born 1725 and died 1793.

V. Lucy Hanks
Born 1766 and died 1825 (?)

VI. Nancy Hanks
Born 1783 and died 1818.

Abraham Lincoln
Born 1809 and died 1865.

LINCOLN AND LEE

I. Colonel Richard Lee
II. Richard Lee
III. Henry Lee
IV. Henry Lee
V. General Henry Lee
VI. General Robert E. Lee

I. William Lee
II. William Lee
III. Ann Lee Hanks
IV. Lucy Hanks
V. Nancy Hanks Lincoln
VI. Abraham Lincoln

THE LINEAGE OF LINCOLN

PART ONE

The Lincolns

Map Showing the English Homes of the Lincoln and Hanks Families

The Lineage of Lincoln

CHAPTER I

Lincoln's Interest in His Family

Abraham Lincoln had a keen interest in the history of his own family, an interest restrained by a deep and significant reserve. He was proud of whatever gave his family standing, and he was sensitive to anything that might involve a possible family disgrace. Wedded to an ambitious woman, who traced her lineage through some of the first families of the blue-grass region of Kentucky, he reflected with undue concern and some misgivings upon his own descent from two of the "second or undistinguished families" of Virginia. The statement frequently made that he showed no interest in his own lineage is far from correct. When, in 1843, he was a candidate for Congress and was compelled to withdraw in favor of Edward D. Baker, he found himself embarrassed by the charge that he had become, by marriage, a member of an aristocratic family. Such a charge was not favorable to his political ambitions, nor was it true, and he took pains to deny it. Writing to his friend Morris, of Menard County, where Lincoln had lived in his early years in Illinois, he said:

> It would astonish, if not amuse, some of the older citizens (a stranger, friendless, uneducated, penniless boy, working on a flatboat at ten dollars per month) to learn that I have been put down here as the candidate of pride, wealth, and aristocratic family distinction. Yet so, chiefly, it was.

Lincoln could not afford to be thought an aristocrat; no charge was more fatal to the hopes of an aspiring frontier candidate. On the other hand, he was far from feeling any lack of pride in whatever could give him honest satisfaction in his own family history. Unfortunately, he did not know how proud he had a right to be, and he cherished some groundless misgivings concerning matters which he did not know.

We are very fortunate in having accurate knowledge of Abraham Lincoln's attempt to learn about his ancestry in 1848. He was then a Member of Congress, and an address which he delivered on the floor of the House of Representatives attracted the attention of Honorable Solomon Lincoln, local historian of Hingham, the old home of the Lincoln family, in Massachusetts. Solomon Lincoln did not at first address his inquiry to Abraham Lincoln, but wrote to his own representative in Congress, Honorable Artemas Hale:

Hingham, March 2, 1848

Hon. Artemas Hale,

Dear Sir:

Our attention has been arrested in this quarter of the country by the able speech of Honorable Lincoln of Illinois, made this session in the House of Representatives, and it has been a source of gratification to those bearing his name to know that the old stock has not degenerated by being transplanted. On the contrary it exhibits fresh vigor in the fertile soil of the West.

I have been inquired of by persons here as to the family from which Mr. Lincoln sprung, and having the curiosity of an antiquarian, as well as of a Yankee, I have thought that gentleman would not consider it impertinent for me to ask him through you, to enable me to answer the frequent inquiries made of me concerning him, from the circumstance of my having devoted much time to the compilation of the genealogies of the first settlers of this town and their descendants among whom we hope to be able to number Mr. Lincoln.

I have some recollection of seeing his name among the members of the Illinois Legislature several years since, & possibly

he may be the same gentleman of whom Samuel Whitcomb Esq. had some information when on a western tour some ten or twelve years ago.

May I venture to ask you to signify my wishes to Mr. Lincoln—that he would inform me of the time and place of his birth,—the names of his father and grandfather—their residence—and so much of his personal history as he feels inclined to impart.—I suppose if I can be aided by him in tracing his ancestors for two generations, that I may be able to supply the connecting links which connect him with the early settlers of Massachusetts.

I remain very truly,

Your friend and servant,

SOLOMON LINCOLN[1]

Abraham Lincoln made immediate reply to this request, and reported to Solomon Lincoln such knowledge as the former had received from his father, Thomas Lincoln. He also obtained from Ex-Governor McDowell, at that time serving as a Member of Congress from the district that included the Shenandoah Valley, the name of David Lincoln, then living on Linville Creek, in Rockingham County, Virginia, where Thomas Lincoln was born. To this David Lincoln, Abraham wrote on March 24, 1848:

> Your very worthy representative, Gov. McDowell, has given me your name and address, and as my father was born in Rockingham, from which his father, Abraham, emigrated to Kentucky about the year 1782, I have concluded to address you to ascertain whether we are not of the same family. I shall be much obliged if you will write me, telling me whether you in any way know anything about my grandfather, what relation you are to him, and so on. Also, if you know where your family came from when they settled in Virginia, tracing them back as far as your knowledge extends.

---

[1] So far as I am aware, this letter has not hitherto been published. I found it in possession of Mr. Thomas F. Madigan, dealer in autographs, who had already practically sold it in a collection of letters relating to Abraham Lincoln. He kindly permitted me to make a copy, and furnished me a photostat.

The answer which he received evidently pleased him; and again, on April 2, 1848, he wrote to this newly discovered relative:

> Last evening I was much gratified by receiving and reading your letter of the 30th of March. There is no longer any doubt that your uncle Abraham and my grandfather was the same man. His family did reside in Washington County, Kentucky, just as you say you found them in 1801 or 1802. The oldest son, Uncle Mordecai, near twenty years ago removed from Kentucky to Hancock County, Illinois, where within a year or two afterward he died, and where his surviving children now live. His two sons there now are Abraham and Mordecai; and their postoffice is La Harpe. Uncle Josiah, farther back than my recollection, went from Kentucky to Blue River in Indiana. I have not heard from him in a great many years, and whether he is still living I cannot say. My recollection of what I have heard is that he has several daughters, and only one son, Thomas—their postoffice is Corydon, Harrison County, Indiana. My father, Thomas, is still living, in Coles County, Illinois, being in the 71st year of his age—his postoffice is Charleston, Coles County, Illinois—I am his only child. I am now in my fortieth year; and I live in Springfield, Sangamon County, Illinois. This is the outline of my grandfather's family in the West. I think my father has told me that grandfather had four brothers—Isaac, Jacob, John and Thomas. And which of them was your father? Are any of them alive? I am quite sure that Isaac resided on Watauga, near a point where Virginia and Tennessee join, and that he has been dead more than twenty, perhaps thirty, years; also that Thomas removed to Kentucky, near Lexington, where he died a good while ago.
>
> What was your grandfather's Christian name? Was he a Quaker? About what time did he emigrate from Berks County, Pennsylvania, to Virginia? Do you know anything about your family (or rather I may now say our family) farther back than your grandfather? If it is not too much trouble, I shall be pleased to hear from you again.

The information which Abraham Lincoln received from David Lincoln clearly established his own relationship with the Virginia

Lincolns, but was inconclusive as to the Massachusetts family. Solomon Lincoln, in 1865, printed extracts from his correspondence with Abraham Lincoln, including the essential parts of Lincoln's letters both before and after he had heard from David Lincoln:

> In a correspondence which we held with the late President in 1848, being then a member of Congress, he stated, "My father's name was Thomas—my grandfather's was Abraham, same as my own. My grandfather went from Rockingham County in Virginia, to Kentucky, about the year 1782, and two years afterward was killed by the Indians. We have a vague tradition, that my great-grandfather went from Pennsylvania to Virginia and that he was a Quaker. Further than this, I have never heard anything. It may do no harm to say that Abraham and Mordecai are common names in our family." In a subsequent letter, written in 1848, he says, "I have mentioned that my grandfather's name was Abraham. He had, as I think I have heard, four brothers, Isaac, Jacob, Thomas and John. He had three sons, Mordecai, Josiah and Thomas, the last my father. My uncle Mordecai had three sons, Abraham, James and Mordecai, Uncle Josiah had three daughters, and an only son Thomas. My father has an only child, myself, of course. This is all I know certainly on the subject of names; it is, however, my father's understanding that Abraham, Mordecai and Thomas are old family names of ours.[1]

It was doubtless to this correspondence that Lincoln made allusion in his biographical sketch for Jesse W. Fell, in December, 1859, to which reference will presently be made, in which he said of his family:

> An effort to identify them with the New England family of the same name ended in nothing more definite than a similarity of Christian names in both families, such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Solomon, Abraham and the like.

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[1] "Notes on the Lincoln Families of Massachusetts, with some account of the Family of Abraham Lincoln." By Solomon Lincoln. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for October, 1865.

These letters completely refute the statement that Abraham Lincoln had no interest in his own ancestry, and gave himself no concern to know the facts regarding it. They show that he diligently sought out whatever he could learn from his immediate relatives, and treasured what he had been taught by his father, and that he was eager to extend his information. Also they show that his interest was intelligent and discriminating and in the main remarkably accurate. One more of these family letters will suffice, and it is very nearly all that we have of them. Apparently there were other letters, but they have not been preserved. This one was to Jesse Lincoln, of Tennessee, and is dated, Springfield, April 1, 1854:

> On yesterday I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 16th of March. From what you say there can be no doubt that you and I are of the same family. The history of your family, as you give it, is precisely what I have always heard, and partly know, of my own. As you have supposed, I am the grandson of your Uncle Abraham; and the story of his death by the Indians, and of Uncle Mordecai, then fourteen years old, killing one of the Indians, is the legend more strongly than all other imprinted on my mind and memory. I am the son of grandfather's youngest son, Thomas. I have often heard my father speak of his Uncle Isaac, residing at Watauga (I think), near where the then states of Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee join,—you seem now to be some hundred miles or so west of that. I often saw Uncle Mordecai, and Uncle Josiah I saw but once in my life; but I never resided near either of them. Uncle Mordecai died in 1831 or 2, in Hancock County, Illinois, where he had recently removed from Kentucky, and where his children had also removed, and still reside, as I understand. Whether Uncle Josiah is dead or living, I cannot tell, not having heard from him for more than twenty years. When I last heard from him, he was living on Big Blue River, in Indiana (Harrison Co., I think) and where he has resided ever since before the beginning of my recollection. My father (Thomas) died the 17th of January, 1851, in Coles County, Illinois, where he had resided twenty years. I am his only child. . . . I shall be very glad to hear from you again.

In this letter he refers also to his earlier correspondence with David Lincoln "who like yourself was a first cousin of my father." There is a reference, also, to Andrew Johnson, then Governor of Tennesee, as to Lincoln's conversation with him regarding Tennessee Lincolns.

In the biographical sketch which he prepared for Jesse W. Fell, December 20, 1859, Lincoln said:

> I was born February 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky. My parents were both born in Virginia, of undistinguished families—second families, perhaps I should say. My mother, who died in my tenth year, was of a family of the name of Hanks, some of whom now reside in Adams, and others in Macon County, Illinois. My paternal grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Rockingham County, Virginia, to Kentucky about 1781 or 1782, where, a year or two later he was killed by the Indians, not in battle, but by stealth, when he was laboring to open a farm in the forest. His ancestors, who were Quakers, went from Berks County, Pennsylvania. An effort to identify them with the New England family of the same name ended in nothing more definite than a similarity of Christian names in both families, such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Solomon, Abraham, and the like.

In the more extended sketch which he prepared for the use of John Locke Scripps, in May, 1860, shortly after Lincoln had been nominated for the presidency, he said:

> Abraham Lincoln was born February 12, 1809, then in Hardin, now in the more recently formed county of La Rue, Kentucky. His father, Thomas, and grandfather, Abraham, were born in Rockingham County, Virginia, whither their ancestors had come from Berks County, Pennsylvania. His lineage has been traced no farther back than this. The family were originally Quakers, though in later times they have fallen from the peculiar habits of that people. The grandfather, Abraham, had four brothers—Isaac, Jacob, John and Thomas. So far as known, the descendants of Jacob and John are still in Vir-

ginia. Isaac went to a place near where Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee join; and his descendants are in that region. Thomas came to Kentucky, and after many years died there, whence his descendants went to Missouri. Abraham, grandfather of the subject of this sketch, came to Kentucky, and was killed there by the Indians, about the year 1784.[1] He left a widow, three sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Mordecai, remained in Kentucky till late in life, when he removed to Hancock County, Illinois, where soon after he died, and where several of his descendants still remain. The second son, Josiah, removed at an early day to a place on Blue River, now within Hancock County, Indiana, but no recent information about him or his family has been obtained. The eldest sister, Mary, married Ralph Crume, and some of her descendants are now known to be in Breckinridge County, Kentucky. The second sister, Nancy, married William Brumfield, and her family are not known to have left Kentucky, but there is no recent information from them. Thomas, the youngest son, and father of the present subject, by the early death of his father and very narrow circumstances of his mother, even in childhood was a wandering laboring boy and grew up literally without education. He never did more in the way of writing than to bunglingly write his own name. Before he was grown, he passed one year as a hired hand with his Uncle Isaac, on Watauga, a branch of the Holston River. Getting back into Kentucky, and having reached his twenty-eighth year, he married Nancy Hanks—mother of the present subject—in the year 1806. She also was born in Virginia; and relatives of hers of the name of Hanks, and of other names, now reside in Coles, in Macon, and in Adams counties, Illinois, and also in Iowa. The present subject has no brother or sister of the whole or half blood. He had a sister, older than himself, who was grown and married, but died many years ago leaving no child; also a brother younger than himself, who died in infancy.

These quotations involve some repetition, but they are of interest and value. In some minor matters they are incorrect; we do not

[1] This date, 1784, is one of President Lincoln's very few errors in date. His grandfather was killed, as is elsewhere shown in this volume, in May, 1786.

know, for instance, that the Lincoln family in Pennsylvania was ever affiliated with the Quakers, though President Lincoln liked to think that this had been the case, and had inherited a vague tradition that it was so. A few of his dates we shall be able to make more definite, and one or two of them we shall correct. But in the main he was surprisingly accurate, and he was very deeply interested in the inquiry concerning his own ancestry.

The world has a legitimate interest in the ancestry of noted men. The science of eugenics is still in its infancy, but for unnumbered centuries nations and individuals have had some sense of its significance. "What think ye of this man, and whose son is he?" are questions that follow each other so naturally that there is not always a pause between them for reply. Not that heredity alone accounts for any man; the wide divergences of character and ability manifest among members of the same family, and even between twins of the same birth, display, if not the limitations of heredity, at least its variable distribution of inherited qualities; but no man can be fully understood apart from his inheritance of bodily and mental traits.

Thomas Carlyle spoke words of scorn of those who attempt to "account" for great men. It seemed to him "melancholy business." Great men were, in his mind, unaccountable, and to be accepted for what they were without futile speculation as to how they became so. But this is not wholly the way in which the world regards its heroes. It seeks to know what qualities a man has derived from his ancestors, what influences have wrought upon him in his environment, and what dominant characteristics in his own personality combined with environment and heredity to make him the man he is.

To a legitimate interest, the world has added a meddlesome curiosity. "Lives of great men all remind us" how busy can be the tongue of scandal, and how much even royalty has to suffer of surmise and gossip. Nowhere is scandal more busy than at the foot of a throne. In proportion to his eminence, any man may expect curiosity as to his antecedents. If he go forth from the home of his

youth, and return a prophet, he will surely encounter the inquiry, "Is not this the carpenter's son?" and those who deny it will not always ascribe to him any nobler or more honorable paternity.

A large proportion of the heroes of olden time were declared to have been of celestial birth, and very many of the others were said to have been possessed of the devil. If by any means both these hypotheses were disproved, then the heroes were declared to have been merely ordinary persons, owing their distinction to accident or pretense.

Abraham Lincoln has not escaped any of these three methods of explanation. He had been deified and damned, and with about equal success. The third and intermediate attempt has never been quite so successful, though it has been undertaken repeatedly, namely, to account for him on the assumption that he was a commonplace character, whose elevation to a position for which he was unfit was followed by events which were beyond his control and for which he deserves no credit, and which have made him a hero in popular imagination such as he never was in life or could have been with his mentality and force of character.

We observe all these diverse attempts at explanation, blunderingly seeking to apply their rule of thumb, in the effort to set forth the alleged facts concerning the heredity of Lincoln. There are those who tell us how prosperous and respectable was his father's family, and how illustrious was the family of his mother; and there are others who tell us that both lines were commonplace and lacking in all qualities of genius, and that some scandalous explanation must be found for him. This is nothing new under the sun; after this fashion have the world and his wife been wont to take account of such qualities as have appeared in distinguished men, and to account for them after their own liking and in terms of their own moral comprehension.

Not very much was known about Abraham Lincoln's antecedents when he was suddenly lifted from obscurity and became President of the United States. The official Dictionary of Congress, pub-

lished and republished during his presidency, contained manifest errors, which Lincoln may not have seen or may have thought unimportant. While he furnished to his early biographers a remarkably clear and concise statement of his paternal line, he did not subsequently go far out of his way to assist those who proposed more extended investigations; and to a considerable extent those investigations have not yielded satisfactory results.

The essential facts, however, are not wholly out of reach. To a very considerable extent we are indebted to Abraham Lincoln himself for our ability to discover them. In the more than sixty years since his death, many scholars, most of them earnest and some of them competent and industrious, have followed the lines which he first laid, and have learned more than Lincoln himself ever knew about his ancestry. He would have been interested in what the readers of this book are about to learn.

CHAPTER II

Tracing the Lincoln Line

An excellent foundation for the building of a reliable genealogy of the paternal line of Abraham Lincoln was laid for him by members of the Lincoln family in Massachusetts, who in the beginning of that work did not know of him, and who, when he emerged into prominence, were not sure of his relationship. The Lincoln family was a Massachusetts family, with a Revolutionary general and two governors on its records. In the town where the Lincolns were first resident in the United States, Lincoln was and is one of the most common of family names.

The first important contribution toward a correct account of the ancestry of Abraham Lincoln was made by Lincoln himself in the two letters written in 1848 to Solomon Lincoln, of Massachusetts, and already quoted. The same information, somewhat more detailed, was published by Jesse W. Fell early in 1860, and soon after Lincoln's nomination the material which he furnished to John Locke Scripps was used in a number of campaign biographies. But the letters to Solomon Lincoln were of prime importance, for he had material with which this information could be correlated. This he published in his article, already cited. This information was used by J. G. Holland in his *Life of Lincoln,* issued in 1865; and it served to set the greater number of subsequent biographers on what was essentially the right track.

Much labor remained, however, concerning the actual line of descent from the Massachusetts Lincolns to the Virginia Lincolns through New Jersey and Pennsylvania. An important branch of the

Lincoln family settled in Taunton, Massachusetts; and it was there held that through that branch the Lincolns of New Jersey and Pennsylvania arose. There was a very interesting story about a patriot Lincoln who knocked down his Tory employer and fled from persecution. These Taunton Lincolns were ironmasters, and so were the Pennsylvania Lincolns.[1] The Taunton tradition appeared to have much to commend it. But it was thoroughly investigated in 1909 and abandoned. Mr. James Minor Lincoln, of New York, showed that the line would not bear the weight of the theory. A full report of the evidence in this investigation was published in the Taunton *News* on February 10, 1909. It fills six columns of that paper, and is convincing proof that the Taunton claim, though honestly held and supported by no little apparent evidence, can not be maintained.

An important contribution to our knowledge of the Lincoln family was made by Honorable Samuel Shackford, of Chicago, in an article in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* in 1894.[2] Unfortunately, the article was shaped with a hope of establishing a connection with the family of Daniel Boone, and it contained a number of errors, which continue to be reprinted. But it gave one single valuable clue. Mr. Shackford discovered in New Jersey and Pennsylvania a group of Lincolns who proved to be of the original Massachusetts stock, and thus established the connecting line of the Massachusetts Lincolns with those in Virginia. He traced the line through Samuel, the original immigrant, who came to Hingham, as Mr. Shackford correctly thought, in 1637; through Mordecai, whose will is dated at Scituate, Massachusetts, March 3, 1727; through a second Mordecai, who lived and married at Freehold, Monmouth County, New Jersey, and died at Amity, Pennsylvania, his will being dated February 22, 1735-6; through John, who was born in Pennsylvania and moved to Augusta County, Virginia, and so to Abraham, the grandfather of the President.

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[1] See "The Lincoln Legend," by Isaac R. Pennypacker, in the *American Mercury* for January, 1924.

[2] See that magazine for April, 1887; Vol. 41, pp. 153-157.

At that point Mr. Shackford grew less reliable. He held that this Abraham "married Mary Shipley in North Carolina" and "went to the wilds of Kentucky with Daniel Boone."

Honorable Joseph H. Barrett, of Loveland, Ohio, attempted to correct some portions of Mr. Shackford's paper. He said of Mr. Shackford's article:

> It is conclusive in its main purpose of tracing the line of John Lincoln of Rockingham County, Virginia, back to Samuel Lincoln of Massachusetts. In the other direction, Mr. Shackford appears to have accepted without independent investigation a statement found in some of the later biographies that Abraham, a son of John Lincoln, removed to North Carolina and there married Mary Shipley, by whom he had three sons, Mordecai, Josiah and Thomas, born in that State. This is in direct contradiction of President Lincoln's own statement that his father, Thomas, was born in Virginia. It is, moreover, a matter of record that as late as the autumn of the year 1781 the President's grandfather had a wife whose Christian name was Bersheba, still living in Rockingham County, Virginia, three years after the birth of his youngest son, Thomas. See letter of Mr. Harris in the Century for March, 1887.[1]

The Shipley story thus discredited refused to die. It is to be regretted that Mr. Shackford or any other serious writer should have believed and published it, for it is the occasion of endless confusion. But Mr. Shackford did the one very valuable thing in tracing the line of the Lincoln family out of New England, through New Jersey and Pennsylvania to Virginia. Careful investigation, by a number of well-qualified scholars, has only confirmed the essential thesis of Mr. Shackford's paper, and more recent discoveries have amplified the material concerning this part of his investigation. We shall have occasion to follow this line in a later chapter.

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[1] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for July, 1894, Vol. 48, pp. 327-328.

Of those who later followed the Lincolns from Massachusetts to Virginia, Prof. Marion Dexter Learned did the most scholarly piece of work in 1909, in his *Abraham Lincoln; an American Migration.* This book is too little known, and has been of material assistance to me. Miss Ida M. Tarbell followed this trail later in her very readable and attractive book, *In the Footsteps of the Lincolns.* The fact that I have now and then to take issue with Miss Tarbell must not diminish the reader's assurance of my high appreciation of her real service as a Lincoln scholar, or my regard for her as a friend.

This long investigation, begun in 1848 or before, by members of the Massachusetts family of Lincolns, came to its worthy culmination in 1923 in the *History of the Lincoln Family in America.* Mr. Waldo Lincoln is well fitted for this task, and has creditably performed it. With just pride in his own branch of the family, and with increased satisfaction because of the added fame which Abraham Lincoln's established relationship has brought to it, Mr. Waldo Lincoln has endeavored to find and classify all its known members from the beginning of their residence in America until now. Possessed of ample wealth and leisure, and with the resources of the American Antiquarian Society, whose president he is, at his command, he has achieved a result which no one will be tempted to duplicate or enlarge upon, as I suppose, for a generation or a century. His work is an important source for a book such as mine, and it would have been as unwise for me to issue this volume sooner, as it would now be foolish to wait for anything important to be added. But, while I am greatly indebted to Mr. Waldo Lincoln, I have not mainly relied upon him. So far as the family of Abraham Lincoln is concerned, which is all that concerns my task, I have made independent investigation, in places supplementing his, and correcting his work in a few important places.

As for the Lincoln line in England, which Mr. Waldo Lincoln did not attempt to cover, except in incidental fashion, that, and the book which chiefly treats of it, will be considered in the next chap-

ter. Meantime, this chapter may profitably conclude with some mention of the Massachusetts Lincolns and their descendants.

In the thirteen American Colonies, the name Lincoln was practically unknown outside of Massachusetts. Mr. Charles Z. Lincoln, in an address before the Lincoln Historical and Genealogical Association, at Taunton, Massachusetts, July 12, 1906, stated that he had searched the state rolls of Revolutionary soldiers in the several Colonies, and had found only six Revolutionary soldiers outside of New England,—one from New York, two from Pennsylvania and three from New Jersey,—and only fourteen from New England outside of Massachusetts, while Massachusetts gave to the Colonial army no less than three hundred and thirty-five names of soldiers named Lincoln. I have not searched as diligently as Mr. Charles Z. Lincoln did in the records of the several states; but I caused some investigation to be made in the records at Washington, and the results, while not, of course, identical, are substantially in accord with those discovered by Mr. Lincoln in his presumably more exhaustive search. Of course, as every one knows who has searched the records of the Colonies for names of soldiers in the Revolutionary War, a list of three hundred and thirty-five names must include a very considerable number of reenlistments, and hence a total of considerably less than three hundred and thirty-five actual men; but when all possible deductions have been made, the list of Massachusetts Lincolns is a large one. Any estimate would be highly uncertain, but we might conjecture that Massachusetts gave to the Colonial armies as many as two hundred Lincolns, and the other Colonies not more than perhaps a dozen.

The precise number is of no considerable consequence. What we are certain about is this, that in the American Colonies the name Lincoln was almost exclusively a Massachusetts name down to the time of the Revolutionary War; and this notwithstanding the fact that for one hundred and thirty-eight years, 1637 to 1775, Lincolns had been arriving from England. Nearly all of them came direct to Massachusetts, and not many of them left the old Bay Colony.

While the Lincoln name in America is borne almost exclusively by descendants of this old English and Colonial stock, a few instances appear of the appropriation of the name by others, belonging originally to some other nationality than English or American. I find in the New York *Tribune* of June 10, 1910, an interesting item concerning a Jew pedler in Schoharie County, New York, who bore the name of Abraham Lincoln. He was of German stock, and that name did not seem wholly to fit him. Inquiry developed the fact that his name originally had been Abraham Linker, which is undeniably German, meaning "left-handed." But as he moved about peddling his wares, and came to be known by name, in certain localities people began calling him Abraham Lincoln, sometimes in jest and sometimes through carelessness. He liked the name and decided to adopt it. This, however, was not a natural evolution.

Much misinformation has been printed concerning the various misspellings of the name Lincoln. Like all names, it was frequently misspelled on the frontier. Norman Hapgood and other writers who have taken their Lincoln material at second hand and made their deductions without original investigation have told us that in Kentucky the usual form of the name was Linkern and that in Indiana it tended toward Linkhorn, and that Abraham Lincoln himself finally stabilized its orthography. Such statements are severely to be condemned. The name Lincoln was no more frequently mispronounced and misspelled than other names, and the Lincolns themselves did not often misspell it. Abraham Lincoln spelled his name Lincoln, just as his father Thomas spelled his name Lincoln, and as his grandfather Abraham Lincoln spelled his, and so on back to Hingham in 1637, with one possible exception in the omission of the "l" and a very infrequent use of Linkhorn. All the Lincolns in direct line were capable of signing their own names, and all of them signed it Lincoln.

It was not alone in Kentucky that the name Lincoln was misspelled. Honorable James M. Lincoln, deceased, of Wareham, Massachusetts, wrote an article which was dated May 30, 1910, and

published soon afterward in a number of New England papers, in which he listed the variant spellings of the name Lincoln as he had found them of record in various Massachusetts documents. Among them were:

Linken, Linkhorn, Lincol, Lincorn, Linkoln, Linckoln, Linkord, Linkoon, Lincon, Linchin, Lancoln, Linchan, Lincolen, Linkhon, Linkton, Lincolan, Linchornet, Linckhorn, Lenks, Lincholn, Lincolin, Linkalon, Linklon, Linkhornew, Lincornew, Lynklyn, Linkomeal, and, last but not least, Lincoln.

If they do or have done such things in the green tree, what may we expect in the dry?

In 1901, Louis P. Hennighausen, an attorney at Baltimore, published in the Society of the History of the Germans a paper entitled *Abraham Lincoln or Linkhorn* in which he set forth the thesis that Linkhorn was the original form of the name, and that it was of German origin. His argument was a skilful one, and was widely adopted by Germans in America, who hailed Lincoln as the German President. They wrote poetry and editorials congratulating Lincoln on his good fortune in having been born of such excellent stock. In spite of all temptations to belong to other nations, Abraham Lincoln, they proclaimed, was a German.

This claim was investigated by Prof. Marion Dexter Learned, Professor of the Germanic Languages in the University of Pennsylvania, who found it utterly without foundation.

The misspelling of the name Lincoln in the backwoods of Kentucky proves nothing but that sometimes names are spelled incorrectly by people who do not know very well how to spell those names. It proves nothing whatever concerning the origin or nationality of the family.

Some of the land-warrants granted to the pioneer Abraham Lincoln in 1780 were issued in the name of Abraham Linkhorn. Years after his death, one of these warrants turned up in the hands of a surveyor whom Abraham Lincoln had employed, and it bore an assignment to that surveyor, signed "Abraham Linkhorn." Morde-

cai Lincoln, uncle of the President, and eldest son and heir-at-law of the pioneer, contested this assignment, declaring it to have been a forgery. Among the witnesses was Thomas Lincoln, brother of the President's grandfather. He was taken to Frankfort, where the original document was on file, and he was shown the alleged signature of his brother, "Abraham Linkhorn." He was asked whether he was familiar with his brother's writing, and answered that he was fully familiar with it.

"How did he spell his name?" was the next interrogatory.

The answer, made under oath, is still on file in the original record at Frankfort, and it gives one a little thrill to read it in that yellow old document:

"He spelled it ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

CHAPTER III

The English Lincolns

1. *The Lincolns of Lincoln*

Lincoln is the name of a place first and afterward of persons born or residing in that place. The city of Lincoln, the capital of Lincolnshire, England, has a population of perhaps fifty thousand, and is the site of a noble cathedral. The name is very old, and goes back to the days of Roman occupation. Lindum-colonia, Lindum-colony, Lindcolon, came in time by successive modifications to Lindcoln, and finally to Lincoln. Lindum was a Roman colony established about 86 A.D.

The name Lincoln had once a longer spelling. The Venerable Bede called it Lindicollinum and we find it variously spelled. The name goes back to the time of Roman occupation, and shares with Cologne on the Rhine the honor of being one of the two towns named in northern Europe that preserves the Latin abbreviation for "Colonia" or colony. While "Lindicollinum" or "Lindumcolonia" was becoming by successive abbreviations Lincoln, it preserved, through these modifications, rather remarkably, the silent letter "l," that shows its Roman origin.

Originating, apparently, as a prehistoric British settlement or stronghold on the northern extremity of the great fen district, Lincoln, under the name of Lindum, became one of the nine *coloniæ* of Romanized Britain, and there was built here the important town toward which Roman roads were made to converge. At the time of the Norman Conquest it was evidently a considerable town, for

we are told that the Conqueror destroyed one hundred and sixty-six houses in order to complete the outworks of a castle. The building of the cathedral was begun by Remigius, the first Norman bishop, in the eleventh century; but the completion of the splendid fane that now dominates the city and the country for miles around was the work of several centuries. The view obtained of it by the traveler as the train approaches the station is one of the finest presented by any of the English cathedrals.

Lincolnshire is a district of seashore, fen and wold. The fens are spacious, almost like prairies. They were once swamps, but have been drained to make meadows and fertile fields. The wolds rise from "islands" of higher land in the fens, and become fairly prominent hills. The seashore is now very largely given over to the gaieties of the summer season. On the coast is Boston, whose intimate relation to New England immigration gave name to the chief city in Massachusetts. In the same county is Willoughby, home of Captain John Smith of Virginia fame. In that county also is Gainsborough, site of George Eliot's *Mill on the Floss,* famous also as the home of old King Canute, and the place where Sweyn of Denmark was killed, and where many centuries later Cromwell fought. In this county are many places of deep interest to Americans.

In this picturesque and historic county the name of Lincoln as a surname arose. Indeed, there must have been a time when every one living in the county was "de Lincoln" whether definitely so called or not. In the nature of the case, here, sooner than elsewhere, the possessors of that name had to be distinguished from one another and took other names. The Earls of Lincoln and the Bishops of Lincoln almost alone retained it.

The first recorded use of the place-name Lincoln as a family name appears in the *Domesday Book* in 1086. Alfred de Lincoln was a Saxon by birth, but his lands were saved from confiscation by his marriage to a Norman lady.

Although it is practically certain that the family name of Lincoln originated in Lincolnshire if not in Lincoln city, that county and

town would appear to have been among the earliest from which the family name disappeared. The three volumes of Lincolnshire Pedigrees, edited by A. R. Madison, and published in 1902-4 and 6, contains no Lincoln family. A *History of the Town of Lincoln,* by T. H. Allen, issued in two volumes in 1834, has a list of subscribers, and no Lincoln among them.

Perhaps the reason for the disappearance of the name from the locality of its origin may be explained on the theory that there of all places it lacked any element of distinction. Every family in Lincolnshire was a Lincoln family, in the free manner of choosing or accepting names of location as family names. There is no Lincoln parish in Lincolnshire. But the name survives in the city which is the county's capital, and in the diocese whose enduring visible monument is the cathedral.

We pay our chief respects to Lincoln as the original home of the Lincolns, but we must seek elsewhere for any man named Lincoln whom we shall be able to connect even remotely with a migration to America, there to become of note through his possible relation to Abraham Lincoln.

2. *The Lincolns of Norfolk*

The names of Lincoln families appear early in different counties of England, mainly in the eastern part, more or less closely proximate to Lincolnshire. There are many Lincolns in Suffolk. It is in Norfolk we find the name most abundant, and it is from that county the Lincolns first came to America.

Norfolk, like Lincolnshire, is a comparatively level county. There one may see in process the evolution through which the fens of Lincolnshire passed. It is a county of meadows and of shallow lakes, the latter known as "broads." The Norfolk broads are lagoons of from two acres to five hundred acres each in size, the total water area being about five thousand acres. The broads are connected by narrow and sluggish rivers of which the Bure and its

tributaries are chief. Wide expanses of reed and marsh adjoin these shallow lakes, which are popular with hunters, fishermen and artists. There is no "crag and torrent," but there is abundance of "moor and fen."

From Norfolk came to America thirty of the one hundred and one passengers of the *Mayflower.* From that county also came John Rolfe, the husband of Pocahontas. From there came a large section of the Puritan migration that made up the early population of New England.

Norfolk is the scene of the famous Paston Letters. It is a region intimately associated with much of the work of Tennyson. Here Charles Kingsley lived and wrote. Here Sir Thomas Browne composed his *Religio Medici.* Here George Borrow was born, and from here he set forth on his work of distributing the Bible in Spain and of composing his stories of gypsy horse races that shocked the Bible Society and delighted every one else. Here Charles Dickens meditated and wrote. Here Edith Cavell nursed and served God and her fellow creatures, and here she lies buried. Here, in a level but attractive region, lived the Lincolns.

The researches of Honorable Solomon Lincoln and his successors in the genealogy of the Lincoln family were mainly content with the investigation of the American line, but from time to time they made inquiry as to the English Lincolns from whom they were manifestly descended. It fell, however, to others to pursue this inquiry to results that appeared to be reliable.

Those who sought for knowledge of the Lincolns in England were singularly fortunate in the facility with which their first information was obtained. Hingham in Massachusetts was the child of Hingham in Norfolk, England, and there the search of the genealogists began. For a time they turned from the little village of Hingham to Norwich, the capital city of Norfolk; for they learned that their progenitor, Samuel Lincoln, came over as the apprentice of Francis Lawes, of Norwich, and it seemed reasonable to suppose that the apprentice was from the same town as his master. Later,

however, this theory was abandoned, for there was discovered in the parish register at Hingham, England, what appeared to be the baptismal record of this very child—"Samuell, the sonne of Edward Lincolne, was baptized the 24 daye of August, 1622." That this date involved difficulties will plainly appear in the succeeding narrative, but it was accepted.

On Friday, October 15, 1858, "a very much excited small boy, effervescing with patriotic enthusiasm, accompanied his father and his kinsman, Senator Trumbull of Illinois, to the Franklin House in Alton, Illinois, where his elders were calling to tender their congratulations to their old friend, Abraham Lincoln, after the triumphant close of the last of the seven memorable debates with Stephen A. Douglas." Fifty years later, to a day, the same lad, grown well beyond middle age, wrote the preface to a beautiful book entitled *The Ancestry of Abraham Lincoln.* The responsible author, James Henry Lea, wrought upon this volume with ardent devotion, and spared no effort or expense to make it readable and typographically attractive.

Mr. Lea had begun his work in England some twenty years previous, and had secured the assistance of an English genealogist, J. R. Hutchinson. Having followed their work through every step of its progress, I am confident that they endeavored to do their very best. The English part of their book was a help to me when I began, and in the main that portion of the volume is still to be trusted. Of the American part, I shall have to make more than one mention, and in those references will be in terms much less complimentary.

These biographers discovered, if the line which began with Samuel Lincoln of Hingham, Norfolk, were correct, that his ancestry could be traced for four further generations, through the records of another parish, that of Swanton Morley. The line, which I think can probably stand, is:

I. ROBERT LINCOLN, of Hingham, Norfolk, England, died 1543.

II. ROBERT LINCOLN, of Hingham, eldest son and heir, died 1556.

III. RICHARD LINCOLN, of Hingham and Swanton Morley, eldest son and heir, died 1620.

IV. EDWARD LINCOLN, of Hingham, eldest son and heir, died 1640.

V. *SAMUEL LINCOLN,* of Hingham, Norfolk, and Hingham, Massachusetts, baptized August 24, 1622; removed to Massachusetts 1637; died 1690; great-great-great-great-grandfather of Abraham Lincoln, sixteenth President of the United States.

A serious difficulty confronts the investigator at the very outset. The initial problem is this: Was the Samuel Lincoln, son of Edward, who was baptized in Hingham, Sunday, August 24, 1622, the same Samuel who on April 8, 1637, sailed with his master Francis Lawes to begin the American line of Lincolns? For if he was born in 1622, he was only fifteen in 1637, and he gave his age as eighteen. Furthermore, when he died, May 26, 1690, his age was recorded as seventy-one, which agrees with the age he gave on sailing.

Two possible answers occur at once: the first is that he might have been born three years earlier and his baptism deferred; the second is, that, making a condition with his master that if he crossed the ocean as an apprentice he should have his freedom earlier than the period specified in his papers of apprenticeship, he might have marked up his age, as hundreds of boys have done in order that they might enter the army. But these explanations both fail when we know that his father, Edward Lincoln, who was somewhat regular in his visits to the baptismal font, had appeared there March 24, 1622, with a son Daniel, and it is not likely that he and Mrs. Lincoln had been blessed with another son by August twenty-fourth of the same year.

I found, moreover, that Lea and Hutchinson had discovered and faced that same problem, but had given it up, and accepted it discrepancy and all. I determined not to do this. Just as I was starting for England in 1925 I received what seemed a miraculous piece of information directing me to the apparently correct place of information. This seemed to indicate that Samuel Lincoln had come from Great Yarmouth, the very port from which the *Rose* sailed. Great Yarmouth is famous in Dickens literature. It is on the shore where England bellies into the North Sea. The morning sun, peering through the mist and endeavoring to discover England, invariably sights as his first visible object the tower of the old church in Great Yarmouth. The canon of the old church was almost jubilant to have me come. He had put in a series of windows commemorating the work of the allied nations in the World War, a memorial to the soldiers of Great Yarmouth. One of those windows, and a beautiful one, was in honor of America. If that church could be shown to have been the church of the Lincolns before they migrated to America, American pilgrims would flock thither. For more than one reason the canon would have been glad to welcome them. So we went at the old yellowed records with great hopes. But alas, my information had been incorrect. We found Lincolns enough; and one Lincoln family had two babies within one calendar year, but no Samuel Lincoln, born in 1619, and disappearing in 1637.

I did not stop there. I searched that year and again two years later the records at Hingham and Swanton Morley, gladly assisted by the rectors. But we could not make the records harmonize.

In Norwich lives Mr. Walter Rye, unchallenged as authority on the antiquities of Norfolk. He was eighty-five years old in 1927, and was working on his one hundred and twenty-sixth book. He told me he had never believed the Hingham story, and he pointed out places in the Lea and Hutchinson book which he said were incorrect. He was sure that if I cared to pay for the search he could find what I wanted. I was more than willing to pay, and Mr. Rye was very generous with his own notes and in the time he personally gave, and for his personal labor he accepted no remuneration. He

grew much interested in the search, and he wrote for the London *Times* one or more articles in which he spoke in high praise of the thoroughness of my investigation and of his faith that we were finding what we sought.

We amassed notes in terrifying volume. We explored parish registers, court records, land transfers, wills, until we buried ourselves under the accumulated results of our own digging. We went forward as long and as far as Mr. Rye could think of any probable source of knowledge. We certainly have notes enough for any Lincoln investigator. I have one set and Mr. Rye has another, and his set ultimately is to go to the Norwich archives, where it will be useful to some one, I hope. But so far as making it any clearer that a boy born in 1622 could have been eighteen in 1637, it left us where we were.

Three times, in 1925, 1927 and 1928, I have been in England in quest of material on the ancestry of Lincoln. I would cheerfully go again if I knew that anything of value could be learned. Perhaps the next investigator will have "beginners' luck" and stumble upon the truth without any considerable labor. Perhaps some time some member of the Lincoln family, with time unlimited and money to spare, will make this his life-work. But Waldo Lincoln, to whom this description might almost apply, has stopped where I stop.

So I am putting into the Appendix a small amount of material, which extends but does not differ greatly from that of Lea and Hutchinson so far as the English Lincolns are concerned, and I am recording as my tentative opinion, in spite of the discrepancy, that the Samuel Lincoln who crossed with Francis Lawes was almost certainly from old Hingham, and may have been the son of Edward Lincoln. And the baptismal dates of Daniel in 1619 and Samuel in 1622 will have to stand and freely collide with the age that Samuel gave when he sailed. One reason for my acceptance of Hingham as Samuel Lincoln's birthplace, as will appear when we cross the ocean, is the record of Daniel Cushing.

Visitors to England are familiar with the magnificent fifteenth-century churches which are the special pride of the eastern counties.

Standing as they do in small, thinly populated villages, they are monuments of a wealth and splendor which have long deserted that part of England. Until the so-called "Industrial Revolution" caused the drift of population north and west to the coal-fields and iron districts, the now rural and less prosperous Norfolk was the wealthiest and most populous part of England. It was the center of the famous weaving industry, introduced into England largely by the Flemings, who began to migrate into the country as early as the reign of Edward III. A small place, as it is now, called Worstead, has indeed given its name to the product, and is really the home of this branch of industry, which was one of the chief sources of English wealth. The trade was at that time carried on in the homes of the people. The great mills and factories of modern times had not yet come to afflict the human race. All through the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries we have a picture of rich prosperous villages, intensely proud of their own civic life, the homes of skilled and prosperous weavers, centering round the lovely city of Norwich, which was then the second town in England. The skill and pride of these weaving villages and their devotion to the faith of their fathers showed itself in the glorious churches which were raised towering in their midst. They stand still as the pride and wonder of a later age; but the fortune of the villages has forsaken them. The industry has gone to Lancashire and Yorkshire, where the weaving is performed in vast mills, and the glory has departed from the eastern counties. They are still thinly inhabited, poor, with a scanty population of small farmers and underpaid agricultural laborers. There stand these noble churches, an inheritance from a past more richly endowed, entrusted now to the care of a population quite unable to support them. Many are literally in danger of falling into ruin. The clergy and people are making brave attempts to preserve their historic churches and to hand them on to future generations. But they can not do this out of their own resources, which are practically non-existent, and they are forced to appeal for help from outside.

The Ancient Parish Church in Great Yarmouth
Many Lincolns are buried here

Photos by Jarrolds, Ltd.

The Church at Swanton-Morley, Norfolk, England
Church Home of the Lincolns

The new Celtic Cross in front of the tower contains names of soldiers from that parish killed in the World War. A Lincoln is among them.

The Church of All Saints, Swanton Morley, is but one among very many of them. But it has an interest wider than some others because of its connection with the family of Abraham Lincoln. It is practically certain that many of the family were baptized, married and buried in this church. In the period 1557 to 1675 there are over forty baptisms and twenty-four burials from this family recorded in its registers. The family held and handed down a great deal of land in Swanton Morley and in the neighboring parish of Hingham. They were apparently in a good station of life and at least reasonably prosperous. But there were some disputes about the property. One of these had far-reaching results. For the will of Richard Lincoln, dated 1615, gave the United States their President.

Richard Lincoln lived in Swanton Morley, and was four times married and had two families. By his fourth wife, Anne, he had a son, Henry, and two daughters, Anne and Elizabeth. By his first wife, Elizabeth, he had a son whom he called Edward. When Richard thought his time was drawing near, he sat down in his house at Swanton Morley and drew up his last will and testament, "being now, praysed be God, of good minde and memorie." By it he left a small bequest to the poor of Swanton Morley, but his property in Swanton Morley and elsewhere was to go entirely to the children of his fourth marriage. Edward was disinherited altogether. On Richard's death in 1620 a suit in Chancery was instituted between Edward and the legatees, Edward alleging that despite the old man's assertions his mind had not been sufficiently sound to resist "undue influence" on the part of the family of the fourth wife. This suit was however unsuccessful. So Henry and his sisters got the land and Henry lived out his days at Swanton Morley, where he was buried in the churchyard in 1660.

Edward was thus left in great difficulties. He removed to Hingham, where were other Lincoln families, and where his son, Samuel, and others of his children were born.

Thus does this parish of Swanton Morley come into American history.

At Hingham, in old England, just after the World War had come to its close, the American Ambassador, Honorable John W. Davis, was the leading participant in an impressive ceremonial the chief feature of which was the unveiling of a bronze bust of Abraham Lincoln. There was great display of bunting, the Stars and Stripes being more prominent than the Union Jack, and there was a sermon by the bishop of the diocese who lauded Lincoln and his country. There was a banquet at which there was renewed expression of the sentiment that this gift of America to the Mother Country and to the church of the ancestors of America's great President, proclaimed anew the common bond uniting the two great English-speaking nations in their common ownership of, and honor for, the name of Lincoln. And the virile bust was unveiled by the American Ambassador in a niche in the north wall of the nave of the old church at Hingham.

There it will be visited by thousands of Englishmen and Americans, who will learn that it was unveiled October 15, 1919; and they will read underneath the following inscription, cut in white lettering in a dark stone:

> IN THIS PARISH FOR MANY GENERATIONS LIVED THE LINCOLNS, ANCESTORS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, TO WHOM, GREATEST OF THAT LINEAGE, MANY CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES HAVE ERECTED THIS MEMORIAL, IN THE HOPE THAT FOR ALL AGES BETWEEN THAT LAND AND THIS LAND AND FOR ALL LANDS, THERE SHALL BE MALICE TOWARD NONE WITH CHARITY FOR ALL.

This is a beautiful and appropriate sentiment, closing felicitously with the President's own words, and worthily testifying to international good will, such as Lincoln himself cherished and would have approved.

The English Lincolns were worthy but humble people. We know no great names among them. Of the first American progeni-

tor of Abraham Lincoln we know that he came to the Colonies an indentured apprentice. The term "servant" carried with it then no such opprobrium as now attaches to it; very many immigrants thus came to America whose descendants bear their names with pride. But it is not to be forgotten that the first man on American soil who bore the name of Lincoln was not of high birth, but a weaver's apprentice, and that he transmitted that name through five intervening generations of hard-working folk, among whom was not a single aristocrat.

Before we take leave of the Norfolk Lincolns we have one last duty, which is to look over the shoulder of a port official who was making the examination in the spring of 1637 of "Persons about to Depart for Foreign Parts." It was not unlike what we know as the issuing of a passport, except that passports are issued for use abroad, and this examination was made for permission to depart. Two ships, one registered at Ipswich and named the *John and Dorothy,* commanded by William Andrews, and the other registered at Yarmouth and named the *Rose,* commanded by William Andrews, Junior, were about to sail for New England. In Chancery Lane in London the old document still is to be found. Among those who were "desirous to passe for New England to inhabit" were Francis Lawes, whose age we are not able to decipher, but who is recorded as having been born in Norwich in Norfolk, and as being a weaver, with his wife Lydia, aged forty-nine, and one child Mary, with two servants, "Samuell Lincorne, aged 18, and Anne Smith aged 19." We do not know what became of Anne Smith. We could learn about Francis Lawes if we cared to do so. But the man who concerns us is this boy Samuel Lincoln. Whether he was fifteen or eighteen, perhaps we shall never know, but we know something more important about him. But for him this book and a thousand other books would never have been written.

Here is the significant entry made by the port official, and still preserved in the Public Record Office, and in *The Original Lists,* by John Camden Hotten:

These persons went to New England with William Andrewes of Ipswich Mr of the John and Dorothy of Ipswich and with William Andrewes his son Mr of the Rose of Yarmouth. . . .

April the 8th 1637. FRANCIS LAWES borne in Norwich in No'ff and there living Weauear aged . . . and LIDDEA his wife aged 49 yeares with one child Marey and 2 saruants. SAMUELL LINCORNE aged 18 yeares and ANNE SMITH aged 19 yeares and are desirous to passe for New England to inhabit.

CHAPTER IV

SAMUEL LINCOLN OF THE TWO HINGHAMS

THE *John and Dorothy* of Ipswich, under command of William Andrews, and the *Rose* of Yarmouth, commanded by his son, William, sailed simultaneously, their voyage constituting a single venture. They were on the high seas two months and twelve days, casting off their moorings April 8, 1637, and by the grace of God arriving safely at Salem in New England on June twentieth of the same year. Following Francis Lawes and his wife, Lydia, and daughter, Mary, and the maid, Anne Smith, aged nineteen, over the side came Samuel Lincoln, and with him began the line that was to reach down seven generations to Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States.

Salem was a thriving town and would seem to have been a good place for a weaver and his apprentice, but Samuel Lincoln did not long remain there. By what means he secured his discharge we do not know, but very soon he was at Hingham, a few miles on the other side of that new town Boston. Being at liberty to go where he liked, he went to Hingham, and that does not surprise us.

The earlier name of Hingham had been Bare Cove, or Bear Cove. It was changed to Hingham soon after the arrival of Rev. Peter Hobart, a fearless Puritan. He left old Hingham for conscience's sake, and wrote in his diary:

> I with my wife and four chyldren Came safely to New Eng land June ye 8:1635: for ever praysed be the god of Heaven, my god and king.

Peter Hobart feared God, but no man, and he preached the sternest kind of Puritan gospel to the people of his flock on both sides of the water. He was in New Hingham when Samuel Lincoln arrived, and they can not have been strangers.

A few months after the arrival of Samuel came Rev. Robert Peck, also from Old Hingham, and he too was a man of fearless speech and conduct where conscience was concerned. He very likely had baptized Samuel.

Eight adults named Lincoln came over to Hingham as original emigrants between 1633 and 1645. Four of them were named Thomas, and are distinguished by their several occupations; two were named Daniel, one was Stephen and one Samuel. All of them were more or less closely related, but the exact relationships of all of them are not fully determined.

Honorable Solomon Lincoln, in his History of Hingham, made record of each of these eight, and I summarize here his information.

1. Thomas, the "cooper," and also known as "maltster," came from the west of England, says tradition, and settled in Hingham, Massachusetts, about 1635-6. He died September 28, 1691. In his will, dated July 13, 1688, proved October 27, 1692, he mentions three sons and a daughter; his son, Joseph, to have the home place.

2. Thomas, styled the "husbandman," and brother of Stephen Lincoln, came from Wymondham in Norfolk County, England, and settled in Hingham, Massachusetts, in the autumn of 1638. He served as selectman in 1662, 1669 and 1672. He died August 16, 1692. In his will, made May 24, 1681, he names wife and eight children.

3. Stephen, and his wife and son, Stephen, came to New England in the ship *Diligent.* They arrived August 10, 1638, and early in the following autumn settled in Hingham, Massachusetts. He died October 11, 1658. In his will, made three days before his decease, he mentions "my mother Joan Lincoln, my son Stephen Lincoln, and Susanna Lincoln, the daughter of my brother Thomas Lincoln the husbandman."

4. Thomas, distinguished from the other Thomases who early settled in Hingham, by his vocation of "miller," came from Old England to New England, in 1635. In his will of August 28, 1683, he describes himself as being "eighty years of age or thereabouts." His will was proved the following March fifth.

5. Daniel, known as the "sergeant," and also as "boatman," as "seaman," and as "the senior Daniel Lincoln," was a resident of Hingham as early as 1644-5. He served as selectman in 1685 and 1692, and was frequently called upon to act as referee. He died March 19, 1698-9, in his eightieth year. His will, dated the sixteenth of September, 1692, was proved the eighteenth of May, 1699. His sons, Daniel and Ephraim, were executors.

6. Thomas, styled the "weaver," was a brother of Daniel Lincoln the "husbandman," who died unmarried in Hingham April 5, 1644; and also of Samuel Lincoln, Senior, who was a younger brother. Thomas came to New England in 1633, with his cousin, Nicholas Jacob. He died in Hingham September 2, 1675, leaving no children. His will, which is without date, was presented at Boston, October 26, 1675. He bequeathed to "brother Samuel" a specified sum; and to "my other nephews and nieces who are the children of my brother Samuel, viz: Mary Lincoln, Mordecai Lincoln, Thomas Lincoln, Martha Lincoln, and Sarah Lincoln," sums varying from five pounds to twelve pounds each. As no mention is made of Samuel's youngest daughter Rebecca, it is more than probable that the will was made before her birth.

7. Daniel, the husbandman, was brother of Thomas and Samuel. He died unmarried April 5, 1644, leaving all his property to his brother, Samuel.

8. Samuel, according to Cushing's manuscript, "came from Hingham, England, and settled in New Hingham, 1637, living some time at Salem." The Christian name of his wife was Martha. She died in Hingham April 10, 1693. He died May 26, 1690, in his seventy-first year. He was a faithful member of the church, and did his duty like a good Puritan. He and Martha had eleven children.

They worshiped in the "Old Ship" church, erected in 1681, and still standing in Hingham, a landmark for vessels and a point of interest for tourists. It has been in continuous use for nearly two and one-half centuries, and is the oldest meeting-house in the United States in uninterrupted service.

Of these eight original Lincolns, probably all akin, the last three named were brothers, and one of them, Samuel, is the President's ancestor.

Many American families have a tradition of being descended from "three brothers who came over" from England, Scotland or Ireland. Very few such trios of brothers did actually come over; but the Lincoln brothers are of those few. Thomas, Daniel and Samuel, they were, but as already stated Daniel died unmarried and Thomas though twice married left no children; so the early Lincoln family in America traces its descent from this single ancestor, Samuel.

Royal R. Hinman, whose *Early Puritan Settlers of the Colony of Connecticut* is the basis of ancestral study and research within that commonwealth, says:

"Ask most men what they know of their first ancestors in this country, and seven persons out of eight will honestly answer, 'Three brothers came over to this country together,' and often will give their names; when, in fact, there are found in the whole colony of Connecticut but four cases where three brothers came into the colony together, except where there were children who accompanied their parents." He adds that "family tradition is usually worse than no evidence."

In the case of the ancestors of Lincoln, however, it is true that there were three brothers, immigrants, and while they did not come over on the same ship, they came from the same town and made their home in the same town in New England and there lived and died.

The most reliable body of contemporary record concerning the early settlers in Hingham is the account book of Daniel Cushing,

"The Old Ship" Church in Hingham, Massachusetts
where the early generations of American Lincolns worshipped

Photo by Jarrolds, Ltd.

The Parish Church at Hingham, Norfolk, England
Church Home of the Lincolns

who was born in Hingham in Old England in 1619 and died in Hingham in New England in 1700. He was the founder of one of New England's best-known families. He was a merchant, and kept account books. But he recorded not only his sales and purchases, but current events and local happenings. Among his papers is a "List of the Names of Such Persons as Came out of the Town of Hingham and Towns Adjacent, in the County of Norfolk, in the Kingdom of England, into New England, and Settled in Hingham." From this record it would appear that a very large proportion of the early inhabitants of New Hingham were from Old Hingham, which is not strange. As early as 1633 there was a Thomas Lincoln, weaver, of whom Cushing records:

> 1633, Also Nicholas Jacob with his wife and two children, and their cosen Thomas Lincoln, weaver, came from Old Hingham and settled in this Hingham.

It is believed that this Thomas Lincoln lived for the first two years at Charlestown and Watertown, and that his actual residence in Hingham may not have begun earlier than 1635. He was twice married, but left no children. He died September 2, 1675. He was almost certainly related to all the Lincolns who followed him from Old to New Hingham, but the degree of relationship to some of them is not known.

The will of Thomas Lincoln names his brother, Samuel, as still living, and remembers him with a legacy. He also remembers the children of this brother, Samuel, and names them, Samuel, the eldest, and then, in order, Daniel, Mary, Mordecai, Thomas, Martha and Sarah. Another daughter Rebecca was born after the death of her Uncle Thomas. By this list we know that this Thomas was a brother of our Samuel.

Thomas and Samuel had also a brother, Daniel, who died unmarried in Hingham April 3, 1644, and therefore is not named in his brother's will. He left all his property to Samuel.

Cushing's statement that Samuel Lincoln came from Hingham in Old England is our best evidence that he was of the descendants of Edward; for no other Samuel is found of record that could reasonably have been the young weaver who arrived in 1637. But against this assumption we have the facts:

1. The Old Hingham records do not contain the name of Thomas. These records, however, begin in 1600, and he probably was born earlier.

2. Samuel was baptized three years too late, and his brother Daniel was baptized in the year when Samuel should have been born.

3. The Daniel who died April 5, 1644, and who was undeniably a brother of Samuel, apparently was born before 1619, for the Daniel Lincoln who died in 1699, was called "the young man" apparently to distinguish him from this older Daniel, who was born in 1619.

But, in spite of this discrepancy, in the light of Cushing's evidence, and in the absence of any other, we are assured that Samuel Lincoln's home in England was in Hingham, for Cushing was in a position to know that fact.

Puzzling as this discrepancy is, considered as a mere matter of conflicting dates, we can not permit it wholly to disconcert us. We know too well how many ways there are in which discrepancies arise. Three different visits to England in effort to solve this puzzle, and that with the very best assistance which could possibly have been secured, bring me back to the testimony of Daniel Cushing as something too definite to be set aside, for Daniel Cushing was himself a native of Old Hingham, and he knew, and had no occasion to misrepresent.

I therefore accept, with all the difficulties involved, the statement of Daniel Cushing that Samuel Lincoln "came from Hingham, England, and settled in New Hingham, 1637, living some time at Salem." It was Salem to which the *John and Dorothy* and the *Rose* came in that year.

On May 26, 1690, Daniel Cushing made this record:

26 Monday old Sam Linkoln dyed of the smallpox.

First and Second Generations

1. *SAMUEL LINCOLN,* born in Hingham, England, 1619 (?), died in Hingham, Massachusetts, May 26, 1690, aged 71 years.
   MARTHA, wife of Samuel Lincoln, maiden name unknown, died at Hingham, Massachusetts, April 10, 1693.

The children of Samuel and Martha Lincoln born at Hingham, Massachusetts, were:

1. SAMUEL, baptized August 25, 1650, died March 1720-1. Married April 29, 1687, at Hingham, Deborah, daughter of William and Rebecca (Chubbock) Hersey, born at Hingham January 1, 1665-6, and died there April 28, 1706, aged 40 years.
2. DANIEL, born in Hingham January 1, and baptized January 2, 1652-3, and died there April 29, 1732. He married, January 23, 1677-8, at Hingham, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas and Margaret (Langer) Lincoln, born December 2, 1656, at Hingham, and died there December 28, 1741, aged 85 years.
3. MORDECAI, born June 18, 1655, died July 19, 1655.
4. *MORDECAI,* born at Hingham June 14, 1657, died November 28, 1727, at Scituate, Massachusetts. (The Scituate records give his death as November 12, while his gravestone gives the date as November 28, 1727.)
5. THOMAS, born September 8, 1659, died November 13, 1661.
6. MARY, born March 27, 1662, died March 7, 1752, at Hingham. She married January 3, 1683-4, at Hingham, Joseph (Clement).
7. THOMAS, born August 20, 1664, and died April 2, 1715, at Boston, aged 51 years. He married (1) Mary, whose maiden name is not known; (2) February 23, 1697, Mehita-

bell, daughter of Captain John and Mehitabell Frost, of Boston.

8. MARTHA, born February 11, 1666-7, and died February 12, 1740-1, unmarried.
9. SARAH, born August 13, 1669, died August 30, 1669.
10. SARAH, born June 17, 1671, and died November 28, 1743, at Hingham, unmarried.
11. REBECCA, born March 11, 1673-4, and died February 4, 1757, at Hingham. She married (1) May 14, 1695, at Hingham, John, son of James and Abigail (Lothrop) Clark, of Plymouth, Massachusetts; (2) June 24, 1725, at Hingham, Israel, son of Thomas and Rebecca (Josselyn) Nichols, of Hingham, who was baptized September 1, 1650, and died January 24, 1773-4, at Hingham.

CHAPTER V

The Lincoln Migration

Of the seven Lincolns in direct line from the original immigrant, Samuel, to Abraham, the President, not one died in the house in which he was born nor yet in the same town, and only one of them died in the same state.

I. Samuel Lincoln was born in England, probably in Hingham, in 1619 and died in 1727 in Hingham, Massachusetts.

II. Mordecai Lincoln was born in Hingham, Massachusetts, in 1657 and died in Scituate, Massachusetts, in 1727.

III. Mordecai Lincoln was born in Scituate, Massachusetts, April 24, 1686, and after a residence in New Jersey died in Berks County, Pennsylvania, in 1736.

IV. John Lincoln was born in Berks County, Pennsylvania, in 1716 and died in Virginia in 1788.

V. Captain Abraham Lincoln was born in Virginia in 1744 and died in Kentucky in 1786.

VI. Thomas Lincoln was born in Virginia in 1778 and died in Illinois in 1851.

VII. Abraham Lincoln was born in Kentucky in 1809 and died in Washington in 1865.

They were landowners, but land was cheap. As a rule they left each settlement when it was beginning to prosper, being animated by the urge of the pioneer.

If we cared to go farther, and it would be only two generations to the end of the male line, we might add:

VIII. Robert Todd Lincoln, son of Abraham and Mary Todd

Lincoln, was born in Springfield, Illinois, in 1843, and died in Manchester, Vermont, July 26, 1926.

IX. Abraham Lincoln, son of Robert Todd and Mary Harlan Lincoln, was born in Chicago in 1873 and died in London in 1890.

We are to trace this Lincoln migration in its curve toward the southwest from Massachusetts through New Jersey and Pennsylvania to Virginia, westward along the Wilderness Road into Kentucky, and thence northwesterly through Indiana into Illinois. The Appalachian Mountains caused the downward curve. Humanity is averse to hill-climbing. When population moving westward struck the mountains, it moved southward, and when it had made its way through the gaps and passes into the region beyond the mountains, it spread fanwise, with a tendency to swing in a compensating curve back toward the north again. In this chapter we pursue the trail of the two Mordecais, father and son, from Hingham, Massachusetts, to New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

Mordecai, son of Samuel and Martha Lincoln, was born at Hingham, Massachusetts, June 14, 1657, and died at Scituate, Massachusetts, November 28, 1727. He owned a sawmill and a grist-mill in Scituate. He is said to have utilized his very small mill-stream effectively by means of three dams. He began on Monday morning at the uppermost dam and used the water there until Tuesday night; started Wednesday morning at the middle dam, and worked at the lowest pond on Friday and Saturday. Having compelled the same water to labor for him three times, he permitted it to rest, as he himself rested, on the Sabbath day. In 1711 he had a corn-mill and iron-works at Cohasset. He appears to have been the one who started the Lincoln family in the iron business; and bits of the slag from his furnace may still be seen at Turtle Island. He prospered in his several occupations, and his sudden death was attributed to apoplexy. He was twice married. His first wife was Sarah, daughter of Abraham and Sarah Jones, of Hull, to whom he was married probably in 1685. It was Abraham Jones who appears to have brought into the Lincoln family the popular and afterward famous name of Abra-

ham. No record has been found of Sarah's birth or death. His second wife was Mrs. Mary (Hobart) Chapin, daughter of Caleb and Mary (Eliot) Hobart, of Braintree. The marriage occurred February 17, 1701-2. Mary was born at Braintree January 12, 1663-4, and died at Scituate April 19, 1743, aged seventy-nine years.

Third Generation

The children of Mordecai and Sarah Lincoln, born at Scituate, were:

1. *MORDECAI,* born April 24, 1686, and died May 12, 1736, at Amity, Pennsylvania. He married at Freehold, New Jersey, before September 14, 1714, Hannah Saltar, who died, and he married as his second wife Mary, daughter of Andrew Robeson. It is with this name the migration from Massachusetts began.
2. Abraham, born January 13, 1688-9, and died between April 15 and 29, 1745, in Springfield, Pennsylvania. He married Rebecca, whose maiden name is not known.
3. Isaac, born October 24, 1691, and died January 15, 1771, at Cohasset. He married (1) February 14, 1716, Sarah, daughter of Abraham and Sarah Cummings, of Woburn, Massachusetts; and (2) February 7, 1739, Jael, daughter of Joseph and Ruth Garrett, of Scituate.
4. Sarah, born July 29, 1694, died July 7, 1754; married 1715, at Hingham, Daniel, son of Ibrook and Margaret Tower, of Hingham.

The children of MORDECAI and Mary Lincoln, born at Scituate, were:

5. Elizabeth, born 1703, died September 14, 1724, at Scituate, aged 21 years, married, September 29, 1720, at Scituate, Ambrose, son of Ambrose and Silence Cole.
6. Jacob, baptized May 23, 1708, and died between September 15, 1779, when he made his will and September 1, 1780, when it

was probated. He married (1) July 16, 1730, Mary, daughter of Samuel and Jane Holbrook, the mother of all his children; she was born January 22, 1711-2, at Scituate, and died November 27, 1749, at Scituate. He married (2) March 17, 1762, at Scituate, "Widow Susanna Marble of Scituate" probably the widow of Nathaniel Marble.

The will of Mordecai Lincoln, of Scituate, executed in 1727, names his beloved wife Mary, two sons, Isaac and Jacob, to whom he made bequests of land, and two other sons, Mordecai and Abraham, to whom he made bequests of money. Mordecai and Abraham were the older sons. Presumably they were settled in life and were living at a distance so that land would have been an inconvenient form in which to receive their inheritance. This presumtion is strengthened by the absence of their names from the Massachusetts records. But they are found, both of them, in Freehold, New Jersey, in a settlement largely made up of Massachusetts people, and working at the business which they had learned in Scituate, that of smelting and forging iron. Moreover, the records in New Jersey show no family resident there from whom they could have descended; they are the first of the Lincoln name to be found of record in that state. There is, therefore, no good reason to doubt that these two Lincoln brothers, missing from Massachusetts where they were born, but still alive in 1727 when their father Mordecai died, and appearing in New Jersey in records a decade earlier and thereafter until their death, are identical.

The earliest record of a Lincoln in New Jersey is the will of Captain John Bowne, of Middleton, New Jersey, dated September 14, 1714. He bequeathed to his sister, Sarah Saltar (or Salter), his plate and the bed on which he lay. John Saltar, a nephew of Captain Bowne, in a letter dated April 25, 1716, addressed to his uncle, Obadiah Bowne, and relating to the estate of his uncle, Captain John Bowne, speaks of Mordecai Lincoln as his brother. The will mentioned a nephew and niece, John Saltar and Hannah Lincoln. The second Mordecai Lincoln was married, before 1714, to Hannah,

daughter of Richard and Hannah (Bowne) Saltar. This makes the record practically sure.

Hannah, first wife of the second Mordecai, died at a date unknown, and he married, probably in the summer of 1729, Mary, thought to have been the daughter of Andrew Robeson, of Amity, Pennsylvania. To that town, then in Philadelphia County, but now in Berks County, he had removed, probably in 1726. There he died ten years later, his will being dated February 22, 1735-6.

The residence of the Lincolns in New Jersey, so far as it concerns the President's ancestors was probably less than fifteen years, and there are few buildings or traditions that mark this brief sojourn in that state.

Fourth Generation

Mordecai Lincoln, son of Mordecai and Sarah, had by Hannah Saltar, his first wife, six children; the first four born at Freehold, New Jersey, and the last two at Coventry, Pennsylvania:

1. *JOHN,* born May 3, 1716, and died in Rockingham County, Virginia, November, 1788. He married July 5, 1743, Rebecca Flowers.
2. DEBORAH, born January 7, 1717-8, died May 15, 1720.
3. HANNAH, date of birth unknown, died before 1769; married before December 15, 1742, Joseph Millard, of Amity, Pennsylvania, who died in 1770.
4. MARY, date of birth unknown, died after 1769; married in 1742 Francis, son of Peter and Alice Yarnall, of Goshen, Pennsylvania.
5. ANNE, born March 8, 1725, and died December 22, about 1812. She married, October 20, 1740 or 1741, William, son of Benjamin and Patience Tallman, of Warwick, Rhode Island.
6. SARAH, born February, 1727, died April 21, 1810, at Exeter, Pennsylvania, aged 83 years. She married, May 26, 1748, at

Exeter, William, son of George and Deborah Boone, of Abington, Pennsylvania. This was a Quaker family.

By his second wife, Mary Robeson, Mordecai had three children:

7. MORDECAI, born May 9, 1730, married in 1755, Mary Ward or Webb, and died March, 1812.
8. THOMAS, born about 1732 and died 1775; married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas and Mary Davis, who was born September 1, 1729.
9. ABRAHAM (posthumus) born October 18, 1736, and died January 31, 1806. He married July 10, 1760, at Exeter, Pennsylvania, Anne, daughter of James and Mary (Foulke) Boone, of Olney, Pennsylvania. She was born April 3, 1737, at Olney and died April 4, 1807, at Exeter. She was own cousin to Daniel Boone. Her marriage was "out of meeting" for which "disorderly conduct" she was disciplined, and acknowledged her error August 27, 1761. She and her husband are buried at Exeter.

This generation carries the line of Lincoln migration through Pennsylvania and to the threshold of Virginia, and establishes collateral branches with the Boone and other families. It enables us to understand how Honorable Gideon Welles and other authorities supposed that Abraham Lincoln was akin to Daniel Boone, and how Lincoln thought that some of his ancestors were Quakers. As is shown above, the Boone relationship was in another branch of the family, as was also the association with the Society of Friends. There was no known drop of Quaker blood in Abraham Lincoln.

CHAPTER VI

The Lincolns of Virginia

John, son of Mordecai and Hannah (Saltar) Lincoln, was born at Freehold, New Jersey, May 3, 1716, and died in November 1778, on Linville Creek, Rockingham County, Virginia. He is called by the Pennsylvania Lincolns "Virginia John" to distinguish him from a cousin of the same name, but inasmuch as there is no occasion to mention the cousin in an outline of the ancestry of Abraham Lincoln, and there is no other John in direct line, that designation is almost needless. The will of John Lincoln was probated in Rockingham County, June 22, 1789, and is preserved at Staunton.

John Lincoln married, July 5, 1743, probably in Berks County, Pennsylvania, Mrs. Rebecca (Flowers) Morris, daughter of Enoch and Rebecca Flowers. She was born March 30, 1720, Old Style, and died July 20, 1806. She was the widow of James Morris, by whom she had one son, Jonathan Morris, born October 3, 1739.

John and Rebecca Lincoln had five sons and four daughters. The five sons were Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, John and Thomas. Of these five sons, Abraham removed to Kentucky in 1782, and died in May, 1786; Isaac removed to East Tennessee, where he died, at Wautaga, August 12, 1773; Jacob remained in Virginia and died on Linville Creek, January 20, 1882; John lived long on Linville Creek, but late in life removed to Ohio, and died at Lebanon, July 13, 1835; and Thomas in 1792 removed to Fayette County, Kentucky, and bought two hundred acres of land on Elkhorn River near Lexington, toward Harrodsburg. He died about 1819. Thus of "Virginia John's" five sons, four removed from Virginia.

Quite naturally, the local traditions on Linville Creek concern largely Jacob Lincoln and his descendants. Jacob Lincoln married Dorcas Robinson, born March 15, 1763, died January 25, 1840. She was the daughter of David and Dorcas Robinson. David, her father, signed his consent to the marriage, but afterward changed his mind, and on the day of the proposed wedding, drove the groom from the house. But the young people ran away and were married. Shortly after this, Jacob went away to war, and was commissioned a lieutenant in the Continental Army, March 26, 1781. While he was away at war, their first child, David, was born, June 28, 1781. Not even the naming of this first-born after his maternal grandfather served to abate David Robinson's wrath. The harvest was soon to be gathered, and, failing to secure help, Dorcas Lincoln took her baby into the field and laid him down in a fence corner, and with her own hands reaped the wheat. A neighbor passed by, and rode on indignantly to David Robinson's house and scolded him as he deserved. He told of the young mother laboring hard under the hot sun, and of the baby, sunburned and tortured by flies. David Robinson so far relented as to send a slave girl, Kate, to care for the baby.

In process of time Jacob Lincoln returned from the war, but did not go immediately to his home. He had had smallpox in the army, and he feared to carry the infection to his family. Standing far away and shouting, he called for a change of clothing, which Dorcas carried out and left for him beside the creek, he, meantime, withdrawing to a greater distance. Then he removed his clothing and buried it, bathed in the creek, put on his clean raiment, and went to his home and held his son in his arms. It was this son, David, with whom Abraham Lincoln corresponded in 1848 as to their common ancestry.

It remains to be told that a complete reconciliation was effected between Jacob and Dorcas Lincoln and her father. In a document dated April 7, 1811, in consideration of his natural love and affection for his daughter, Dorcas Lincoln, wife of Jacob Lincoln, David

Robinson conveyed to her three negroes, Cate, Squire and James, and all his household furniture.

The Shenandoah River empties into the Potomac at Harper's Ferry, flowing out through a narrow pass between high bluffs. There is very little indication at the mouth of the stream of the breadth and fertility of the valley as it extends southwesterly between this Blue Ridge and the Alleghenies. Instead of narrowing, it widens as it ascends. Its course is through a limestone country filled with caves, and with large opportunity for pasturage and cultivation. It was one of the chief sources of supply of the Confederate Armies during the Civil War. The grain abundantly produced was ground by mills turned by the descending waters of the Shenandoah and its tributaries, many of which flow nearly parallel with the main stream. For fifty miles midway of the valley extends Massanutten Mountain, separating the river into two wide branches, and doubling the width of the valley.

Into the very heart of this valley came the Lincoln family, and it would seem that from every material point of advantage they might better have remained there. The development of the Shenandoah Valley was less than a generation ahead of the development of Kentucky. The Lincolns in direct ancestral line of Abraham appear to have left the Shenandoah Valley just when it might have profited them to remain. At least the Lincolns prospered who continued to abide on Linville Creek.

Fifth Generation

The children of John and Rebecca Lincoln, the first eight born in Pennsylvania, the ninth in Virginia, were:

1. *ABRAHAM,* born May 13, 1744, died in Kentucky, May 1786. He married, 1770, Bathsheba Herring, who long survived him and died in 1836.
2. HANNAH, born March 9, 1748, died about 1803; married Robert Harrison.

3. LYDIA, born March 9, 1748, named in her father's will and probably died unmarried.
4. ISAAC, born March 5, 1750, died in Wautauga, Tennessee, June 10, 1816; married Mary Ward.
5. JACOB, born November 6, 1751, died on Linville Creek, Virginia, February 20, 1822; married August 29, 1780, Dorcas, daughter of David and Dorcas Robinson.
6. JOHN, born July 15, 1755, died in Lebanon, Ohio, July 13, 1835; married June 27, 1782, Mary, daughter of Francis and Mary Yarnall, of Berks County, Pennsylvania, his own cousin.
7. SARAH, born September 18, 1757, and married a man named Deane.
8. THOMAS, born October 23, 1761, died in Fayette County, Kentucky, about 1819; married Elizabeth Casner.
9. REBECCA, born April 18, 1767, died in September, 1840, near Greenville, Tennessee; married April 26, 1786, in Rockingham County, Virginia, John Rimel.

CHAPTER VII

Captain Abraham Lincoln, Kentucky Pioneer

Abraham Lincoln, son of John and Rebecca (Flowers) Lincoln, was born May 13, 1774, in Berks County, Pennsylvania, and was killed by Indians in Jefferson County, Kentucky, in May, 1786. He accompanied his father, John Lincoln, to Virginia, and received from him two hundred acres of land on Linville Creek, being a portion of his father's original purchase, and he later added by a purchase of his own fifty-two additional acres. The farm is fertile and attractive, and the location is healthful and desirable.

As early as 1770 he was a captain of militia, and his name, with the title "captain" appears in the Augusta County records of 1776 and 1777, and in the Rockingham County records for 1779 his own service appears to have been in part at least in connection with the Cherokee wars. His brother Jacob saw service in the Yorktown campaign.

Abraham Lincoln married, his license bearing date June 9, 1770. The name of the bride is not mentioned in the license. Who his wife was, we shall have occasion later to discuss, but we may as well know now and remember that we have full documentary proof that her name was Bathsheba, and there is reason to believe that her maiden name was Herring. Waldo Lincoln believes that she was the daughter of Leonard Herring, though this opinion involves a chronological difficulty into which we need not enter.

When Nicolay and Hay began the publication of their biography of Lincoln in the *Century Magazine* in November, 1886, they were under the impression that whatever Virginia records of the Lincoln

family might have existed from Colonial days, were destroyed by the Federal Army during the Civil War. Mr. John T. Harris, Jr.,[1] of Harrisonburg, Virginia, in an open letter to the *Century* in March, 1887, made a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Lincoln family by his discovery, then first made public, that certain important records existed at Staunton, county-seat of Augusta County, Virginia. Prior to 1777 when Rockingham County was organized, that part of the Shenandoah Valley which in that year became Rockingham, was in the county of Augusta. In the light of this and other information certain facts become apparent.

President Lincoln's great-great-grandfather, John Lincoln, known as "Virginia John," sold his property in Pennsylvania in 1748, and moved to Virginia about 1750. The Lincoln family residence in Virginia, therefore, was about the length of a single generation from 1750 to 1782.

On August 16, 1768, the heirs of Robert McKay deeded to John Lincoln six hundred acres of land situated on Linville Creek in the county of Augusta, now in the county of Rockingham. This tract of six hundred acres was a portion of a very extensive body of land patented to McKay and others as early as 1739. It was one of the most fertile spots in the Shenandoah Valley. On August 11, 1773, only five years after the date of the conveyance from McKay to John Lincoln, he and his wife, Rebecca, transferred to their son, Isaac, two hundred and fifteen acres of the original six-hundred-acre tract. And on August 17, 1773, they conveyed to their son, Abraham, the grandfather of the President, two hundred and ten acres of this same tract.

The consideration in each deed was nominal, being five shillings current money of Virginia. John Lincoln as well as his sons all wrote their names Lincoln. In no instance do the documents disclose any other method of their signing.

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[1] I acknowledge the courtesy of Mr. Harris to me both in correspondence and on visits of mine to the Shenandoah Valley; also that of Prof. J. W. Wayland, of Harrisonburg.

Upon this fertile farm Abraham Lincoln and his family lived only about a decade after Abraham's marriage in 1770. The deed to the farm was made to him in 1773, but he had probably lived upon this land for two or three previous years. There was much to hold their interest there. They were among relatives and friends, and the farm was steadily improving and increasing in value. The Shenandoah Valley was becoming more thickly populated and was increasingly prosperous. But Abraham decided to sell, and Bathsheba consented to the sale of the farm.

Abraham Lincoln sold his land in Virginia to Michael Shanks. The conveyance was for two hundred and fifty acres, being the two hundred and ten acres which Abraham had received from his father, John Lincoln, and another tract of forty (or fifty-two) acres obtained from one Munsey. Abraham Lincoln's deed to Michael Shanks, bearing date of February 18, 1780, was recorded on June 17, 1780, but without the privy examination of his wife attached to the transfer. In order to remedy this defect in conveyance, the county court of Rockingham on September 8, 1781, issued a commission of privy examination of Bathsheba, wife of Abraham Lincoln. The authorization of this commission says: "She being unable to travel to our said county court of Rockingham to be privily examined apart from her husband whether she is willing to relinquish her right of dower in the land in said deed mentioned, as the law in that case directs." This commission was executed by the commissioners named therein on September 24, 1781. Bathsheba Lincoln, called Bersheba, acknowledged that she had signed the said deed of her own free will without any threats, force or compulsion of her said husband.

From this and other data it appears probable that the pioneer, Abraham Lincoln, made his first visit to Kentucky in the spring of 1780, leaving his wife and four children and another child soon to be born in Virginia. That Bathsheba was not able to travel at that time is indicated not only in the order of the court, but in the date of birth of her youngest child, Nancy, March 25, 1780.

It would be interesting to know the real value of the money which Abraham Lincoln received for his fertile acres, two hundred and forty or two hundred and fifty-two in number, in the Shenandoah Valley. The nominal sum was five thousand pounds, and some authors have assumed that this meant thirty thousand dollars. Henry Phillips, Jr., in his book entitled *Historical Sketches of the Paper Currency of the American Colonies Prior to the Adoption of the Federal Constitution,* gives a table exhibiting the scale of depreciation of the Virginia currency. In December, 1777, it took four pounds of Virginia paper money to equal one of gold; in December, 1778, it required six pounds; in December, 1779, forty; in December, 1780, seventy-five, and in December, 1781, one thousand.

We may estimate that the value at the time Abraham Lincoln sold his farm was about one to fifty. About a hundred pounds sterling was the probable value of the money he received. But if land in the Shenandoah Valley was cheap, land in Kentucky was still cheaper, even after giving to the surveyor one-third to one-half of the tract for locating and surveying it.

As Abraham Lincoln sold his farm in Virginia, February 18, 1780, and purchased his land warrants March fourth, in the same year, and Nancy was born March twenty-fifth, it would appear probable that Abraham remained in Virginia until the birth of his youngest daughter and immediately thereafter set forth for Kentucky without his family. Returning after more than a year, in which interval he had probably selected the two tracts of land which later he was to possess and occupy, he took his family with him and they probably made their departure from Virgina not long after Bathsheba's renunciation of her dower rights.

Bathsheba was able to write her name. In this relinquishment she signed herself "Batsab Lincoln." In different documents her name is spelled indifferently Bersheba, Bershaba, Bashaba, Barbara, Bathshaba, Bathshabe and Bathsheba. Her family called her Basheby.

On March 4, 1780, there were issued to Abraham Lincoln, three

treasury warrants, numbers 3333, 3334 and 3335, each acknowledging receipt of one hundred and sixty pounds Virginia money, and each calling for four hundred acres of land to be located in any county in Virginia, Kentucky then being such a county. As the Lincoln farm had sold for five thousand pounds, and these three large tracts cost less than five hundred, Abraham Lincoln was financially well ahead when he entered Kentucky. He went to land that had been standing in his name but was not yet surveyed. On June 7, 1780, he entered eight hundred acres of land in Lincoln County, one of the three original Kentucky counties. It was described as lying six miles below Green River Lick, and including an improvement made by Jacob Gum and Owen Dever. A few days earlier, May 29, 1780, he had entered four hundred acres on Long Run of Floyd's Fork, in Jefferson County. For the eight-hundred-acre tract he used his warrants 3333 and 3335; for his Jefferson County four hundred acres he surrendered his middle voucher, number 3334. On October 12, 1784, an official survey was made of his Green River land, and another, May 7, 1785, of his Floyd's Fork land. His patents were issued in due course.

We have supposed, all of us who are students of the Lincoln material, that the Floyd's Fork farm was the first Kentucky home of the Lincoln family. We have wondered why Captain Abraham Lincoln settled first on his smaller tract of land, and why he made his home on an unimproved farm when the larger farm had "an improvement" which presumably included a cabin. Why did he not make his home on his Green River farm?[1]

The answer now is, that he did. We find documentary proof that Abraham Lincoln not only made his first Kentucky home on his larger farm, but that he did not leave it until the end of 1784 or the beginning of 1785. At that time he removed with his family

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[1] The discovery of the record of this residence of Abraham Lincoln and family in Lincoln County from 1782 until the end of 1784 was made by Honorable L. S. Pence, of Lebanon, Kentucky, by whose courtesy I am permitted to make use of his material.

to the smaller farm, about fifteen miles from Louisville. He and his cousin, Hannaniah, assisted in the survey of that farm on May 7, 1785, and a year later, in May, 1786, he was murdered by an Indian.

In July, 1776, Daniel Boone entered in his survey book a memorandum of one thousand acres of land in the name of "Lincoln." This can hardly have been Captain Abraham Lincoln, grandfather of the President. It was almost certainly his kinsman, Hannaniah. This man has been a dim and shadowy figure in the background of the President's ancestral tradition, and not until now has he emerged into full light. For his own reputation, that may be desirable; for such additional knowledge as we gain concerning him does not commend him to our regard. But very recent discoveries bring him into the penumbra, and they disclose some important data concerning the President's grandfather.

Whoever visits the home of Captain Abraham Lincoln in the Shenandoah Valley and sees its admirable location, its fertility and its steadily advancing value, wonders what evil genius lured Captain Abraham Lincoln, with his five small children and his invalid wife, to surrender that attractive spot for the perils and privations of life in the Kentucky wilderness. In 1782 the Lincoln family, Abraham and his wife, Bathsheba, and their five children—Mordecai, aged eleven, Josiah, aged nine, Mary, aged six, Thomas, aged four, and Nancy a babe in arms—left a comfortable home and set forth on the Wilderness Road. Bathsheba had been in such frail health since the birth of her last baby that she had been unable to ride eight miles and back from the farm to the court-house to sign the relinquishment of her dower rights in the farm, but she mounted her horse, took Nancy in her arms and little Tommy on the horse behind her, and started for Cumberland Gap and the unbroken forests beyond. Posterity profited, but Bathsheba suffered, and Abraham Lincoln, the pioneer, lost his life in consequence of this migration.

Sometime in the year 1783, as set forth in a suit of Mordecai Lincoln in June, 1816, against the heirs of John Reed, Abraham

Lincoln procured a land warrant numbered 14427, by which warrant said Lincoln was entitled to 2268½ acres of land. This land was located on Bear Creek, running down Green River. It was agreed between Abraham Lincoln and John Reed that Reed should receive half the land for surveying and locating it, and the contention of Mordecai was that Reed fradulently converted it all to his own use, forging the endorsement of Abraham to the assignment. With this large tract of land we have no concern, since there is no claim that the Lincolns ever occupied it.

The farm on which the Lincoln family lived in Washington County during the closing years of the eighteenth century and the opening years of the nineteenth has been identified; and it is believed in that county that the older Abraham Lincoln lived and was killed there; this land was originally patented by Matthew Walton, and there is no record that it ever stood in the name of Abraham Lincoln.

This brings us back to the year 1780, and to the land warrant issued March fourth in that year to "Abraham Linkhorn," and numbered 3334. It called for four hundred acres of land to be located in any county of Virginia, the consideration being one hundred and sixty pounds. The original warrant is in the Durrett Collection in the Library of the University of Chicago.

On May 7, 1785, William Shannon, assistant surveyor, with William May as his assistant, surveyed for "Abraham Linkhorn," a tract of land, the same being patented by authority of treasury warrant 3334. The land was described as located on Long Run of Floyd's Fork, beginning at a corner two miles up the stream from the mouth of a tributary, indistinctly written, but which appears to have been intended as Tice's Creek, and a stream which was earlier known as Trace Creek, or Boone's Trace.

Abraham Lincoln was alive and assisted as marker in this survey of May 7, 1785, and died sometime between that date and October 8, 1788, the date of administration of his estate. In fact, we now know the date of his death to have been in May, 1786.

Abraham Lincoln died intestate. His estate was administered in Nelson County. This is what we should expect if he had died in what is now Washington County, which was a part of Nelson until 1792. Had his family continued to reside on Long Run we should expect that administration would have been in Jefferson County. There would appear to be little if any doubt that by the time the estate was presented in court for settlement, the family was resident in what is now Washington, which was then a part of Nelson County. John Caldwell was appointed administrator. He submitted an inventory of personal property, March 10, 1789. This inventory is on file in Bardstown. No mention is made of real estate, nor is it stated where the deceased died.

Where did the pioneer, Abraham Lincoln, meet his death?

The Honorable J. L. Nall, of Missouri, grandson of Nancy Lincoln Brumfield, youngest child of the pioneer, Abraham Lincoln, stated positively that he had from both his mother and his grandmother, a statement that Abraham Lincoln was killed near the Bear Grass Fort, and in what is now the very center of Louisville. Testimony like this should be entitled to great weight; but Mr. Nall was incorrect in many, if not most, of his traditions; and this one we can not accept. Louisville in 1786 was already something of a city; and the circumstances of the death of the pioneer Abraham Lincoln are such as completely deny this location.

We may now consider in its enlarged form the story of the death of Abraham Lincoln's grandfather as he himself transmitted it. It comes to us through his law partner, William H. Herndon:

> His paternal grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, met his death within two years after his settlement in Kentucky, at the hands of the Indians; "not in battle," as his distinguished grandson tells us, "but by stealth, when he was laboring to open a farm in the forest." The story of his death in sight of his youngest son, Thomas, then only six years old, is by no means a new one to the world. In fact, I have often heard the President describe the tragedy as he had inherited the story from his father. The

dead pioneer had three sons, Mordecai, Josiah and Thomas, in the order named. When the father fell, Mordecai, having hastily sent Josiah to the neighboring fort for assistance, ran into the cabin, and pointing his rifle through a crack between the logs, prepared for defense. Presently an Indian came stealing up to the dead father's body. Beside the latter sat the little boy Thomas. Mordecai took deliberate aim at a silver crescent suspended from the Indian's breast, and brought him to the ground. Josiah returned from the fort with the desired relief, and the savages were easily dispersed, leaving behind them one dead and one wounded.[1]

When and where did this tragedy occur?

What is probably our earliest answer to this question is found in three different biographies of Lincoln, written in 1865. Honorable Joseph H. Barrett, Commissioner of Pensions, sent to Kentucky an artist named John H. Rowbotham, who was the first investigator to enter the backwoods of Kentucky and Indiana in search of authentic Lincoln material. Barrett says:

> According to the family tradition, it was somewhere on Floyd's Fork, supposed to be near its mouth, in what is now Bullitt County (p. 14).

Barrett also affirms, and is as I suppose the first to affirm in print, that the widow of Abraham soon removed to Washington County (p. 15).

Doctor Brockett, who also wrote in 1865, says that the pioneer, Abraham Lincoln:

> established a home for his small family somewhere on Floyd's Creek, and probably near its mouth, in what is now Bullitt County (p. 30).

Doctor Holland, writing in 1865, and after a visit to Herndon, says:

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[1] Herndon's *Lincoln,* first edition, i:pp. 9, 10.

> The spot upon which he built is not known, though it is believed to have been somewhere on Floyd's Creek, in what is now Bullitt County (pp. 19, 20).

This threefold tradition is really a single tradition, and probably goes back to Barrett, and perhaps to Rowbotham. The conjecture that the site of the farm was in Bullitt County need not disturb us. Floyd's Fork lower down flows through Bullitt County, and county lines were not only somewhat vague, but some of them changed their direction as new counties were formed. The important fact about this earliest recorded tradition is this affirmation that Abraham Lincoln was killed on Floyd's Fork, and that his widow subsequently moved to Washington County.

The two additional authorities are all that we need to cite. Ward Hill Lamon, writing in 1871, and using the Herndon manuscripts, says:

> Immediately after the death of her husband, the widow abandoned the scenes of his misfortune and removed to Washington County, near the town of Springfield, where she lived until the youngest of her children had grown up (p. 8).

He also states that the original home of the Lincolns had been in Mercer County. In this I think he is clearly wrong. I have had occasion to investigate the Mercer County records. Lamon appears to have confused the Lincolns with the Sparrows and some of the Hankses, who had their homes in Mercer. Herndon also clearly had the impression that the death of the pioneer occurred in Jefferson County (i: 10).

Nicolay and Hay deny the Mercer County residence (i: 11, note), but state that the pioneer Lincoln had settled in Jefferson County (i: 21) and that after his death, "the head of the family being gone, the widow Lincoln soon removed to a more thickly settled neighborhood in Washington County. There her children grew up" (i: 23).

Where Captain Abraham Lincoln was killed by Indians
The two figures in the distance stand on the site of the cabin,
and those in the middle distance are at the spring

Photos by R. C. Ballard-Thurston.

Long Run Baptist Church on Captain Abraham Lincoln's Farm
Probable place of his burial

These are all the traditions which bear upon the problem, except the Nall tradition, which locates the death of Abraham Lincoln within the corporate limits of Louisville, and which is not entitled to any credence, and the Washington County tradition, which has strong local support and consistency, but lacks additional corroboration.

With regard to the Washington County tradition, we encounter this additional difficulty, that so far as we know there was no fort or stockade in such close proximity to the Lincoln farm as to have afforded shelter for the family, and to which Josiah could have run for assistance. Rather singularly, the regions nearest to the Ohio River were open to attack from the Indians after interior settlements, such as that at Springfield, were counted secure.

We turn, therefore, to the Floyd Fork farm of Abraham Lincoln with rather strong antecedent probability that this was the spot where the death of the pioneer Lincoln occurred.

If the Jefferson County records had not suffered serious loss by fire, and we could find among them just one mention of Abraham Lincoln as a taxpayer, or a juror, or a collector of bounties on wolf scalps, or the taker-up of an estray horse or cow, that single record, with the presumption already established, would be almost conclusive evidence in favor of the Floyd's Fork farm. Unfortunately no such evidence is available, and we must gather what we may from other sources.[1]

On the very day that Abraham Lincoln's four-hundred-acre tract was surveyed, the same surveyors located a tract immediately adjacent to it upon the north in the name of Morgan Hughes. Upon this patent stood Hughes' Station, a plat of which, in the George Rogers Clark papers, now forms a portion of the Durrett Collection. That plat bears the penciled note of Colonel R. T. Durrett, stating

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[1] The losses by fire in Louisville, however, are not so great as have been represented; and the fact that the records there do not show Abraham Lincoln's name adds to the abundant evidence of the very short residence of the Lincolns on Floyd's Fork. See the Appendix of this volume.

that Bland W. Ballard said that this was a weak fort, badly built, and that the Indians killed a man near it in 1786.

Colonel Durrett's note is as follows:

> Bland W. Ballard states that the station was erected by Morgan Hughes in 1780; that it stood on Long Run in Jefferson County not far from the Baptist meeting house; that it consisted of eight cabins and four block houses at the corners and that it was a weak fort, poorly built. In 1786 a man was killed here by an Indiana while he was coming to the station from his land near by on Long Run, where he had been putting in a crop. His family resided in the station and soon after his death the widow and children moved into Nelson County.

I have endeavored without avail to learn where and to whom Bland W. Ballard made this statement. I have not found it either in the Durrett Collection or in the Draper manuscripts, though it may be in either one of them. But we may trust Colonel Durrett as to the general correctness of this affirmation. Major Bland W. Ballard was born in Virginia October 16, 1761, and died September 5, 1853, before the Lincoln name became famous. Apparently he did not name the man who was killed, not thinking that matter of any consequence. This testimony, therefore, from a man of Major Ballard's standing, who was in position to know, is of very great importance.

But Colonel Durrett lived to be very greatly interested in Lincoln; and he added a further note of his own, and afterward erased it. It began with the word "Query" or "Question," and enough can still be deciphered to make it evident that Colonel Durrett raised the question whether this man killed by the Indians in 1786 was not the ancestor of President Lincoln. But Colonel Durrett himself erased his own question, or at least the question was erased before the plan came into the possession of the University of Chicago, and it is hardly conceivable that any one else than Colonel Durrett should have done it. Why did he make this erasure? Ap-

parently because he satisfied himself that 1786 could not have been the date of the Lincoln murder.

Now, inasmuch as Major Ballard knew nothing about Lincoln, and Colonel Durrett believed that the grandfather of Abraham Lincoln was killed two years earlier, this erased note has great evidential value. It was not made with attempt to prove anything. But we have excellent reasons to believe that this murdered man was none other than the older Abraham Lincoln, and that the date 1786 is correct. It is evident that Colonel Durrett did not juggle Major Ballard's figures; if he was tempted to change the date from 1786 to 1784 to fit his own theory, he did not do so, but erased his own query instead.

Now, if we could be sure that Abraham Lincoln was killed, not in 1782 or 1784 (and both dates are impossible in view of his presence at the survey May 7, 1785) but in 1786, we should feel sure that his death occurred on Long Run. The circumstances related by Major Ballard as to the killing itself and the removal of the widow and children to Nelson County (for Washington then was a part of Nelson) are in full accord with the family tradition. If on any other ground we can confirm the date, the testimony of Major Ballard will settle the question of the place.

Fortunately, we are not left in doubt on this point.

Rev. Louis A. Warren, in an entirely independent investigation, has found an affidavit of Mordecai Lincoln, made in 1816, in which he, the eldest son and heir at law of the pioneer, and a witness of his father's death, stated that Abraham Lincoln was killed in May, 1786. The sworn testimony of Mordecai Lincoln and the testimony of Bland W. Ballard are wholly independent, for Bland W. Ballard of course had no interest in ascertaining the name of the man killed. Mordecai's affidavit confirms Ballard's testimony as to the date, and Ballard's is practically conclusive as to the place.

On March 10, 1922, accompanied by Mr. R. C. Ballard-Thruston, Vice-President of the Filson Club, and Mr. Hardin Helm Herr, son of Catherine Todd Herr, and nephew of Mary Todd Lincoln, I first

visited the site of the Lincoln farm on Long Run, which is a branch of Floyd's Fork. This visit was made the more fruitful by surveys, plats, abstracts and other documents prepared in advance by Mr. Thruston.

Interesting correspondence followed this visit, and I went again on Monday, June 12, 1922, accompanied by Mr. Thruston, Rev. Louis A. Warren, Mr. T. C. Fisher, a law student, and native of the region we were to visit, and Miss Kinkead, Mr. Thruston's secretary, who took down in shorthand several of our interviews.

On these two occasions we positively identified the Lincoln farm. The courses of the streams, an abandoned mill race, and other topographical features established this beyond doubt.

Putting together our documentary proof and what appeared reliable tradition, going back through the memory of the oldest men now living in the vicinity to settlers two generations earlier, we were able to identify with a strong degree of probability the site of Hughes' Station and the home site of the Lincoln family. We were guided to the latter by two men, long resident in the vicinity, who found the spot in a plowed field and who assured us that the spring, which had belonged to the house, was at a point which they were able to identify near at hand. On the exact spot where they said a house had been, we found indubitable evidence of human habitation, in broken crockery and other cast-off reminders of occupancy. We found the spring, also, exactly where they unearthed it, and though its retaining walls had fallen in, we were able to remove stones enough to be certain that the water still would flow if it were given opportunity, and flow it did for us.

The location of the Lincoln house in its relation to the Morgan Hughes fort we found to be such as to satisfy every requirement of the tradition.

We have, therefore, quite sufficient evidence to indicate that the pioneer, Abraham Lincoln, met his death on Long Run, in Jefferson County, very near to the edge of Shelby.

This was as much as we had expected to learn, and quite all that

we could have anticipated; but we were surprised to find a local tradition concerning the grave of the pioneer, Abraham Lincoln. This tradition affirmed that the Long Run Baptist Church, which stands on the Lincoln farm and is surrounded by graves, some of them very old, has within its yard and perhaps under the very building as it now stands, the grave of Abraham Lincoln. This tradition came down to us through S. M. Talbott and Oscar T. Proctor. Mr. Talbott was then seventy-five years of age and conveyed to us the testimony of William Webb, who was born on Long Run in 1797 and who returned to visit the place of his birth about 1880, and at that time told Mr. Talbott much which he had learned from his father, the older William Webb.[1]

The original Long Run Church building was of logs, and erected in about 1797 on land that had belonged to Abraham Lincoln. But according to Mr. Talbott, it was the common burying place of the neighborhood before there was a building there. The first settlers did not bury their dead on individual farms, for they had their community life in Hughes' Station. The oldest graves, therefore, were in this place.

The log church building was succeeded by a house erected out of local stone. The stone was used in the foundations of the brick church.

The first brick church, which superseded the stone church, was erected in 1833. It was subsequently enlarged. Its present outside dimensions are about forty-one by sixty-two feet. It appears to be eighteen and one-half feet wider and about as much longer than the original building. These old residents united in their declaration that the oldest traditions of the community were that Abraham Lincoln and four or five others were buried so close to the spot where the log church was erected in 1797, that when the brick church was extended their graves were covered by the extension.

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[1] This tradition is of such interest, and is so likely to be enlarged upon unless it is recorded in the form in which I first obtained it, that I am giving it in full in the Appendix.

By permission of the trustees, a portion of the floor of the church was removed for us, and Mr. Fisher put on overalls and descended with a flash-light, hoping to discover some traces of graves. In this he was unsuccessful. If graves had ever been there, the extensions of the building, and the changes in the floor level had obliterated all sign of them. The space was cramped, and no digging was practicable. We, therefore, are not able to present a demonstration of the presence of graves under the church, nor if we could find them there could we assert positively that one of them was the grave of Abraham Lincoln. I can think of no likelihood that any more certain evidence on this point will come to us; and I therefore submit that in the light of our best knowledge Abraham Lincoln was killed on Floyd's Fork in May of 1786, and probably buried upon his own farm, and that it appears highly probable that the site of his grave is within the churchyard of the Long Run Baptist Church, and possibly under the building. Many historic graves have been identified and monuments erected on evidence less convincing.

The story of Captain Abraham Lincoln and his widow and children requires further mention of Hannaniah Lincoln, and he must have a larger place in this narrative than in any previous book. It has seemed impossible to trace his ancestry.[1] Hannaniah Lincoln was a son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Davis) Lincoln, of Reading, Pennsylvania, and thus a grandson of the second Mordecai. Hannaniah was born about 1756. In 1775-6, he was sergeant in Captain George Naylis's company, Colonel William Thompson's regiment, and on October 4, 1776, was commissioned first lieutenant in the Twelfth Pennsylvania regiment. He was promoted to a captaincy May 20, 1777, and resigned October 17, 1777, after the Battle of Brandywine, in which he had participated.

After the war Hannaniah was a large purchaser of land in Kentucky, much larger than would have been possible had not his cousin, Abraham, saved out of the five thousand pounds received

[1] I dismiss without notice the conjecture of Lea and Hutchinson on this point. Waldo Lincoln's book has given us the correct information.

for his Shenandoah Valley farm a total of more than forty-five hundred pounds. Hannaniah assisted his cousin in the investment of this money.

This is entirely new to Lincoln students, and is interesting in itself. But there is an interest which goes deeper. Hannaniah was in the Green River country in 1782 with his cousin, Abraham, and was borrowing money from him. Hannaniah was not married at this time. He located the thousand acres of land of which Daniel Boone made notation, and took it in Nelson County, February 3, 1783, "on the east side of Beech Fork River." In 1792, the new county of Washington included that tract, but it was still in Nelson when Hannaniah married, February 9, 1787, Sarah Jeffrey, daughter of Moses Jeffrey, who lived hard by. It was for Hannaniah, not Abraham or his widow, Bathsheba, that Lincoln Run in Washington County took its name. The purchase of that Nelson County farm, later in Washington County, has much to do with the Lincoln story. Apparently Hannaniah bought his land with money borrowed from Abraham.

Hannaniah became somewhat prominent. He was "Captain of the Malitia District." But he did not desert Abraham so long as Abraham had any money to lend him.

Apparently it was the fear of Indians that, in 1784, drove the family of Abraham Lincoln from their large eight-hundred-acre tract on Green River to the new and smaller tract on Floyd's Fork, protected, as was supposed, by the blockhouse fort called Hughes' Station. The family had been living on Green River, far from where biographers have hitherto been able to find them.

We know now how short was the residence of the pioneer Lincoln on the Floyd's Fork farm. It began not earlier than November, 1784, and possibly was as late as January, 1785, and the family had to live in the stockade at Hughes' Station, a scant half-mile away from the site of their proposed cabin. Some progress was made toward the erection of a house, however, for there was a house on the little hill above the Lincoln spring, and it was from between the

unchinked logs of that house that Mordecai took careful aim and shot the Indian who had killed his father.

The widow Bathsheba lived during that season on the new farm, and when George Rogers Clark that autumn organized a company to go to fight the Indians, and the settlers made contributions in kind, she contributed an excellent rifle, set down to the credit of "the Widow Lincoln." It was a grim gift, perhaps the very gun whose stock Mordecai had notched for the Indian he had shot.

But winter was coming on, the Indians were still a menace, the widow Bathsheba Lincoln was alone among strangers, and she had five children. She left the Floyd's Fork farm, and went to Nelson County, to that part which later became Washington. Why did she go there? We have never known any reason for her doing so. But now we discover the almost certain answer. She went to Washington County to be under protection of Hannaniah Lincoln, who owed her money and gratitude.

Hannaniah soon had his own interests to look after, for he married, as has already been said, and the widow with her five children may not have been wholly welcome in the home to which Hannaniah brought his bride. But he could not turn the widow out, lest she sue him.

If she did not sue him, her legal representative did. John Caldwell, administrator of the estate of Abraham Lincoln deceased, entered suit, August 13, 1790, against Hannaniah Lincoln, for money loaned to the said Hannaniah Lincoln, during the lifetime of the said Abraham Lincoln, deceased. Hannaniah, by tall swearing, was able to secure a verdict in his favor, but his peaceful relations with the widow Bathsheba Lincoln, if any such relations had previously existed, were at an end. She removed from his house, but she appears to have held some lien upon it; for soon Hannaniah himself departed. He resigned his commission as captain of militia, July 12, 1791, and removed to Hardin County. Later he moved to Spencer County, Indiana, and there some years later he died. His widow was living in Indiana in 1817.

This in itself might not be very thrilling reading, though it can not be called unimportant, but it carries with it certain implications which dovetail into knowledge which we already have. Until four years ago it was the orthodox tradition, and may be found in many books, that Mordecai Lincoln, inheriting all the estate of his father, Captain Abraham Lincoln, deprived his youngest brother of any share in it, and that Mordecai was therefore the responsible agent for the illiteracy of Thomas Lincoln. In some forms of this tradition, Josiah, the middle brother, was joint victim with Thomas, and in others he was co-conspirator with Mordecai.

Several years ago I found evidence which led me to believe that Mordecai Lincoln had been unjustly accused by sentimental biographers of cheating his two younger brothers, and especially his youngest brother, Thomas, in the settlement of the estate of their father, Abraham Lincoln. I thought it far more probable that Mordecai accepted his legal responsibility as heir-at-law under the law of primogeniture, but exercised his responsibility as guardian of the interests of his younger brothers. In my *Paternity of Abraham Lincoln,* published in 1920, I expressed the opinion that the one hundred and eighteen pounds which Thomas Lincoln paid in cash for his improved Mill Creek farm had come to him from the settlement of his father's estate. This opinion now finds reinforcement in the discovery, for which I have to thank Mrs. Cannon, of the Kentucky State Historical Society, that Mordecai in 1803, the year of this purchase, was selling a portion of his father's land outside Washington County. In 1797 he had sold to Benjamin Bridges the Long Run farm, and it is reasonable to believe that Josiah received his portion out of this sale, for Josiah in that year purchased land and paid for it in cash. Abraham Lincoln's eight hundred acres of land on Green River were sold by Mordecai Lincoln in this very year, 1803, in which Thomas Lincoln bought his Mill Creek farm. This is the identical land located on treasury warrants 3333 and 3335. The deed is recorded in Lincoln County Deeds, Book E, page 130. The consideration was four hundred pounds. It is true that

the date of this deed, December 24, 1803, is three months later than that of John Toms Slater to Thomas Lincoln, which was September 2, 1803; but the formal deed often followed the purchase at intervals of months or even years. Thus, the deed of Mordecai Lincoln to Benjamin Bridges, conveying the Long Run farm was dated April 2, 1822, a full quarter-century after the actual sale, which was by bond and delivery of the land, January 12, 1797. (Jefferson County Deeds, Book U, page 251.)

In my *Life of Abraham Lincoln* I maintained and still maintain that we have good right to infer that Mordecai accepted his responsibility in good faith, and acted as guardian of the interests of his mother and his sisters and his two younger brothers. This view, I am happy to note, has been accepted by writers of the past three years. It removes a base libel from the eldest son of Captain Abraham Lincoln. Moreover, it is in accord with the character of Mordecai, as we have independent knowledge of it. For Mordecai died in Hancock County, Illinois, in the winter of the deep snow (1831), and I know his descendants very well.

But, if Mordecai dealt honorably with his mother and his brothers and sisters, why was the widow Lincoln in such "narrow circumstances" as President Lincoln described it, and why did Mordecai and Josiah have to struggle so hard, and why did Thomas grow up, "literally without education" as his son said, being "a wandering laboring boy"?

Now, for the first time, we seem to know the answer. It was not the dishonesty of the older brothers of Thomas, but the drain made on Abraham's purse by Hannaniah, his cousin, which laid a heavy burden on Bathsheba and her children.

But something came out of it, after all. The widow Lincoln continued to live on Beech Fork, then in Nelson but later Washington County, until her children were grown. And there it was, in time, on this same Beech Fork, in the big double log house of the Berry family, neighbors and friends, that Thomas Lincoln was married to Nancy Hanks. And these became the parents of the President.

Dealing now with the fortunes of the widow of Captain Abraham Lincoln, we must go back and once more defend her right to be thought of as the sole wife of the pioneer. It is distressing to have to pay so much attention to fictions presented without a particle of evidence, but when such fictions get into print, they live long, and are harder to refute because there is no evidence to disprove, and it is futile to meet assertion with mere denial.

We are again reminded that in the sketch for his campaign biography, Abraham Lincoln stated that his grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, who was killed by the Indians, left a widow, three sons and two daughters. The names of these children we know. The sons were Mordecai, Josiah and Thomas. The two daughters were Mary, who married Ralph, son of Philip and Anne Crume, of Nelson County, Kentucky, and Nancy, who was born March 25, 1780, married William Brumfield January 13, 1801, and died on Mill Creek, Kentucky, October 9, 1845, aged sixty-five years, six months and fourteen days, as her tombstone records.

But who was the "widow Lincoln"? She was the wife of Abraham Lincoln and the mother or stepmother of these five children; and concerning her has been much misinformation.

Honorable J. L. Nall was not sure of her first name. He remembered having seen her, for she was his grandmother; but he had never heard her called by her first name. When the name Bathsheba was suggested to him, it did not seem to him the correct name. When Mary was proposed, he thought it more nearly probable, one of her daughters, his aunt, being Mary. But the Hancock County Lincolns, of Illinois, who halted at her home on their way from Grayson County, through Hardin, remembered her as "Granny Basheby."[1] They accented the name on the first syllable.

Lea and Hutchinson, in their *Ancestry of Lincoln,* say of Abraham: "He married, first, Mary Shipley, daughter of Robert and Sarah Shipley of Lunenburg County, Virginia, the mother of his

[1] I rather like their description of her as I have given it in *The Women Lincoln Loved.*

elder children; she died in Virginia at some time previous to 1779" (p. 79).

The same authorities tell us that Robert Shipley had five daughters, Mary, who married Abraham Lincoln; Lucy, who married Richard Berry; Sarah, who married Robert Mitchell; Elizabeth, who married Thomas Sparrow, and Nancy, who married Joseph Hanks, these becoming the parents of Nancy Hanks the mother of President Lincoln (pp. 105-108). This, they affirm, they state on the primary authority of J. L. Nall, and with their corroborative proof from Mrs. Caroline Hanks Hitchcock. Of Mrs. Hitchcock we shall have something to say later; of Mr. Nall we may say now and finally that while he intended to tell truthfully what he had heard from his mother and grandmother, his memory was sadly at fault in this and much besides. Apparently he went only so far as to give a halting assent to the suggestion made to him by others that his grandmother was Mary Shipley; for when he was first interrogated he could not recall her name. We may then dismiss Mr. Nall from the witness-stand, and Mrs. Hitchcock's time has not yet come.

But Lea and Hutchinson found themselves compelled to admit that these five daughters are not to be found in the Virginia records (p. 106).

So far as I can discover, they are not to be found outside the imagination of those who, writing on the ancestry of Lincoln, have darkened counsel by words without knowledge.

A few things are certain, and one of them is that most of the marriages of the alleged five daughters of Robert Shipley did not occur. I have never yet found proof that he had any daughters. If ever a baseless fiction, contradicted at vital points by documentary evidence of the highest value, has wrought itself into sober history, it is that of the five daughters of Robert Shipley. Of this we must write when we come to the Hanks side of the family.

The letter of Honorable John T. Harris, of Harrisonburg, Virginia, already referred to, showed from the Virginia records that on February 18, 1780, Abraham Lincoln and "Bersheba," his wife,

deeded their land on Linville Creek, Virginia, to Michael Shanks, and that she relinquished her dower rights to the same September 8, 1781. A facsimile of her signature was given.[1] This discovery led Lea and Hutchinson to the theory that the first wife, Mary Shipley Lincoln, mother of the older children, had died not later than 1779.

Waldo Lincoln, in his researches for his *History of the Lincoln Family,* reached the conclusion that Bathsheba was the first wife, that she died soon after the relinquishment of her dower rights, and that Abraham, being about to migrate with a family of small children, one of them an infant, married quickly Mary Shipley, as Mr. Nall had said, and that she was the widow Lincoln whom Nall remembered as his grandmother.

A fortunate circumstance in the summer of 1922 disclosed a pile of old tax-lists, which, through the intervention of Mrs. Cannon, Secretary of the Kentucky State Historical Society, who was generously making research for me, were preserved after they had been brought out for destruction as of no value. These included early tax lists of several Kentucky counties, among them Washington County. These showed that Bathsheba Lincoln was living in Washington County, in 1793, apparently in the same house with her son Mordecai, and that she had in the home one white male above the age of sixteen, who must have been Josiah, Thomas being too young to be included. In 1795 Mordecai and Josiah were taxed separately as also was Thomas, he being above sixteen and under twenty-one. In this list of 1795 the name of Bathsheba does not appear. She may have conveyed all her property over to her sons. But she was still living in Washington County. When her daughter Nancy married William Brumfield in 1801, Bathsheba signed her permission to marry, and signed it as Nancy's mother. Nancy was born March 25, 1780.

In her later years, Bathsheba made her home with this daughter

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[1] See the *Century Magazine,* Volume XXXIII, p. 810.

Nancy, and is buried beside her in an unmarked grave in the Mill Creek cemetery. Nancy's grave has a stone. Bathsheba lived to a great age, dying in 1836.

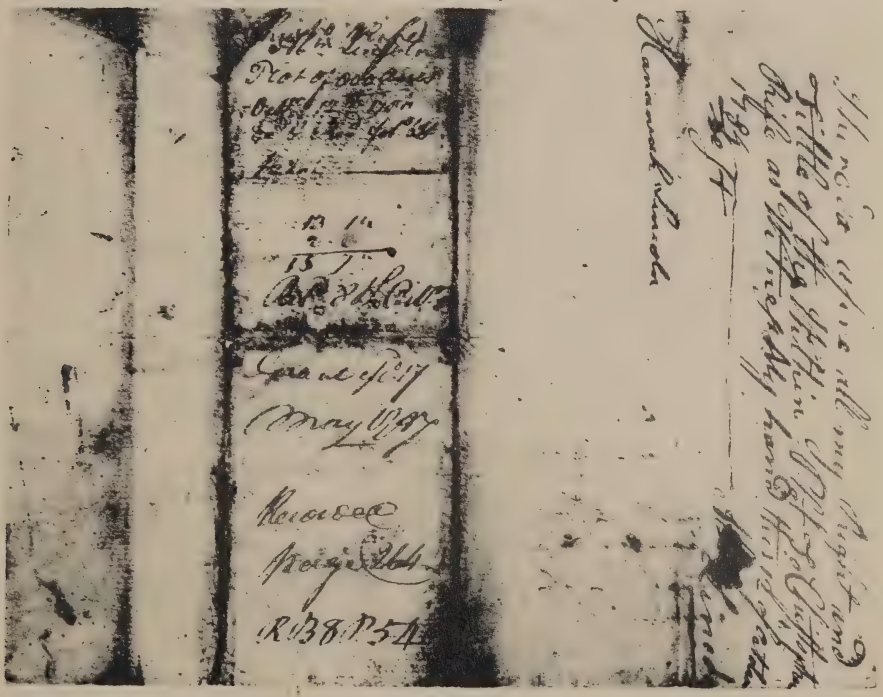
From all these facts we now know that Abraham Lincoln, the pioneer, had but one wife, Bathsheba. She was probably the daughter of Leonard Herring, of Bridgewater, Virginia. The exact dates of her birth and death are not known, but she appears to have lived from about 1750 to 1836 and to have died above ninety years of age. The family tradition is that at her death she was nearly one hundred.

Bathsheba Lincoln lived through strange adventures. She spent her youth and early married life in Virginia, and we know that in the latter part of her residence there she was not in good health. She endured the hard journey over the Wilderness Road and the perils and privations of life in a new country. She wept above the body of her murdered husband, and was destined thereafter to waken in the night and shudder lest some unwonted noise should indicate the approach of savages. She brought up her five children amid serious difficulties. She lived to see them all married and scattered and herself to be a great-grandmother.

We could wish to have had some authentic narrative from her own lips; but the memories of Mr. Nall are too vague and fragmentary to be of any value. We have at least the measure of satisfaction which comes from giving her the place that belongs to her as the one and only wife of Abraham Lincoln. As for those who have taught a too indulgent public to believe in another and mythical first or second wife, preceding or following her in the affection of her husband, we are yet to deal with them. For there are besides this other misdeeds for which they must reckon.

One thing that Bathsheba Lincoln had to attend to in the early days of her widowhood was the administration of her husband's estate. He died intestate, and she did not seek the courts for the settlement of her affairs until she was established in her new home in Washington County, which was then a part of Nelson. The

Survey of Captain Abraham Lincoln's eight-hundred-acre farm on Green River, Kentucky



Photos by courtesy Kentucky State Historical Society

Assignment and signature of Captain Abraham Lincoln, with attesting signature of Hannaniah Lincoln, on date of survey and vacation of eight-hundred-acre Green River Farm, October 12, 1784

records of the settlement of the estate are on file at Bardstown, where I have seen and examined them. The first record is as follows:

> At a Court held for Nelson County the fourteenth day of October in the year of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred and eighty eight,
>
> Present
>
> Benjamin Pope, James Rodgers Gabriel Cox and James Baird Gent.
>
> On motion of John Caldwell who made oath according to law and with Richard Parker his surety entered into and acknowledged this Bond in the penalty of £1000 conditioned as the law directs certificate is granted him for obtaining letters of Administration on the estate of Abraham Lincoln decd in due form.
>
> Ordered that John Alvey, Peter Sybert, Christopher Barlow and William Slack any three of them being first sworn before a magistrate of this County do appreaise in current money the slaves (if any) and personal Estate of Abraham Lincoln decd and return the Appraisement to the Court.

The inventory was duly made, and in due time the appraisers made their report, which shows us what personal property the pioneer, Abraham Lincoln, left. The land was not listed, as that went, under the existing laws, to the eldest son, Mordecai, who, as I have said, on arriving at age, accepted his responsibilities and appears to have dealt honorably with his mother and brothers and sisters.

So Bathsheba Lincoln, of whom the Herring family in the Shenandoah Valley say that she was of higher social standing than the Lincolns and married Abraham against her father's will, but who really do not know very much about it, accepted her stern lot, and brought up her five children in her "narrow circumstances." The frail, thin little woman lived on and on and on. If she could have told her life story and it could have been recorded, what a story

it would have been! As it is, we have only her unmarked grave on Mill Creek, beside that of her daughter, Nancy. That and the fact that a child of her youngest son became President of the United States.

As this book goes to press, discovery is made by Mrs. Cannon, of the Kentucky State Historical Society, that on the very day of the survey of Captain Abraham Lincoln's eight-hundred-acre tract on Green River, he assigned his claim to Christopher Riffe or Rife. Apparently the land was not paid for at the time, and a deed was made by Mordecai Lincoln to the Riffe heirs in 1803. The date, October 12, 1784, quite evidently marks the approximate time of the removal of the Lincoln family from Lincoln to Jefferson County. The signature of "Abm Lincoln" is a good one, and the formation of some of the letters shows a striking similarity to the handwriting of his grandson. Hannaniah Lincoln, also, who signed as witness, wrote a good hand.

Sixth Generation

The children of Abraham and Bathsheba Lincoln, born on Linville Creek, Rockingham County, Virginia, were:

1. MORDECAI, born about 1771, married in 1792 Mary Mudd, and died in Illinois in December, 1830. She died at Fountain Green, Illinois, about 1859.
2. JOSIAH, born about 1773, married February 28, 1801, Catherine, daughter of Christopher Barlow, and died in Harrison County, Indiana, in September, 1835.
3. MARY, married Ralph, son of Philip and Ann Crume, and lived in Nelson County, Kentucky.
4. *THOMAS,* born January 5, 1778, married Nancy Hanks June 12, 1806, and died at Farmington, Illinois, January 17, 1851.
5. NANCY, born March 25, 1780, married January 12, 1801, William Brumfield, and died on Mill Creek, Hardin County, Kentucky, October 9, 1845.

CHAPTER VIII

Thomas Lincoln

Thomas Lincoln, son of Abraham and Bathsheba Lincoln, was born in Rockingham County, Virginia, January 6, 1778, and died at the now obsolete hamlet of Farmington, near Janesville, Illinois, January 17, 1851. He married (1) on Beech Fork, Washington County, Kentucky, June 12, 1806, Nancy Hanks who died near Gentryville, Indiana, October 5, 1818; and (2) at Elizabethtown, Kentucky, December 8, 1819, Mrs. Sarah Bush Johnston, daughter of Christopher Bush and widow of Daniel Johnston. She was born December 13, 1788, and died December 10, 1869, and is buried with her husband in Old Shiloh Cemetery, near Janesville, Illinois. She was married to her first husband March 13, 1806, and he died in October, 1818.

In 1795, Thomas Lincoln was listed by name in the Washington County tax-lists as a white male between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one. In the same year from June eighth until July seventh, we find him serving in the militia under Lieutenant George Ewing. We are able to account for him in Kentucky records every year from 1795 till his departure for Indiana in 1816 except the year 1798. In that year, we are quite certain, he was with his Uncle Isaac on the Watauga River in Tennessee. President Lincoln said of him:

> Before he was grown, he passed one year as a hired hand with his Uncle Isaac on Wautauga, a branch of the Holston River.

Recently there has come to light knowledge which appears to indicate that as Thomas Lincoln was returning from his year with his Uncle Isaac in East Tennessee, he stopped in Cumberland County, Kentucky, and made a contract for the purchase of two hundred acres of land in that county. He went on to Washington County and was there assessed for taxes February 14, 1800, and August 5, 1801. But he returned to Cumberland County and probably occupied his land for a single season. The ubiquitious Hannaniah Lincoln was there. On January 12, 1802, Thomas gave bond as constable, and made a good and legible signature, quite certainly written by the same hand that made his later ones, and altogether like that which he made August 16, 1801, as witness to Mrs. Kathren Bridges' consent to the marriage of her daughter. This very interesting record discloses Thomas Lincoln to have been a purchaser of land even earlier than 1803, the earliest purchase previously known, and also discloses a brief and hitherto undiscovered tenure of public office, as well as a very early signature. The prospective removal of his mother from Washington to Hardin County may be presumed to have been the reason for his leaving Cumberland County. The office of constable, whatever the honor attached to it, can not have been lucrative enough to detain him.

In 1799 he was back in Washington County, a white male of twenty-one years or over, and he owned two horses. The following year he was still there, but had disposed of one horse. In 1801 he was still in Washington County and still was the owner of one horse. In that year he and Josiah were witnesses to a legal document, both signing their names legibly. He was a resident of Washington County as late as September 6, 1802.

In the latter part of 1802, Thomas Lincoln removed to Hardin County, and there we have numerous records in every year till his removal from the state. He was regularly on the tax-lists, and he paid his taxes. He was a buyer at auction sales, and he paid cash for his purchases. He guarded prisoners, he signed petitions for

new roads, he served on juries. He had a series of lawsuits and was successful in them.

On September 3, 1803, he bought his Mill Creek farm, near the farm of his sister, Nancy Brumfield, with whom his mother came to spend her many last years. He did not live long on this farm, but continued to own it till 1814, when he and his wife, Nancy, deeded it to Charles Melton, who presumably had been a tenant there for some years.

In June, 1806, he returned to the Beech Fork settlement where he had grown up, and on the twelfth was married by Reverend Jesse Head to Nancy Hanks. Their first home was in Elizabethtown, county-seat of Hardin County, and there their first child, a daughter Sarah, was born February 10, 1807.

In 1805 he purchased the Sinking Spring farm on Nolin Fork, where, on February 12, 1809, his second child, Abraham Lincoln, was born. This farm was lost through a defective title.

His fourth and last farm in Kentucky was on Knob Creek, and is supposed to have contained thirty acres, but the papers in an ejectment suit appear to imply that it was two hundred and thirty. In 1812 he was taxed for three horses, in 1813 for two, and in 1814 for three. In 1815 he listed four horses, one of them a stallion. Of cattle, swine and sheep he doubtless had his portion. In January, 1816, the land which he occupied fell into litigation. So long as he defended his suit, it appeared to be going in his favor, but he was wearied with the uncertainty of land titles, and felt the lure of Indiana. Josiah Lincoln was already there, and so was Hannaniah. Joseph Hanks, also, had gone there to make his home. Thomas Lincoln prepared to journey thither, and removed with his family in the autumn of 1816.

In the spring of that year he had been appointed to the office of "road surveyor" between "Bigg Hill and the Rolling Fork." His appointment was made May 13, 1816, and his successor was appointed April 14, 1817.

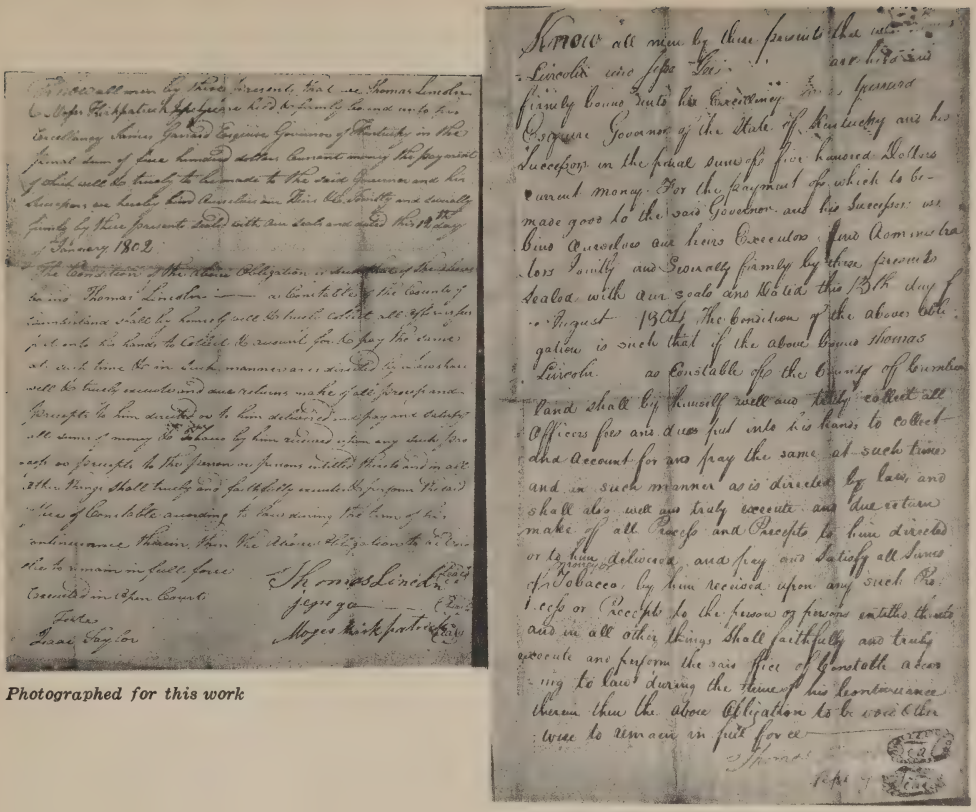
The third child of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln, a child named Thomas, was born in 1811 and died in infancy.

On their removal to Indiana, Thomas Lincoln and his household made their home on Little Pigeon Creek in Spencer County, and remained there fourteen years. There Nancy Hanks Lincoln died October 5, 1818. Thomas married as his second wife, at Elizabethtown, Kentucky, Sarah Bush, daughter of Christopher Bush and widow of Daniel Johnston. In Indiana, also died Sarah, daughter of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln and wife of Aaron Grigsby.

The Lincolns removed to Illinois in the spring of 1830. After a short residence near Decatur, Thomas Lincoln removed to a farm near Farmington, where he died January 17, 1851.

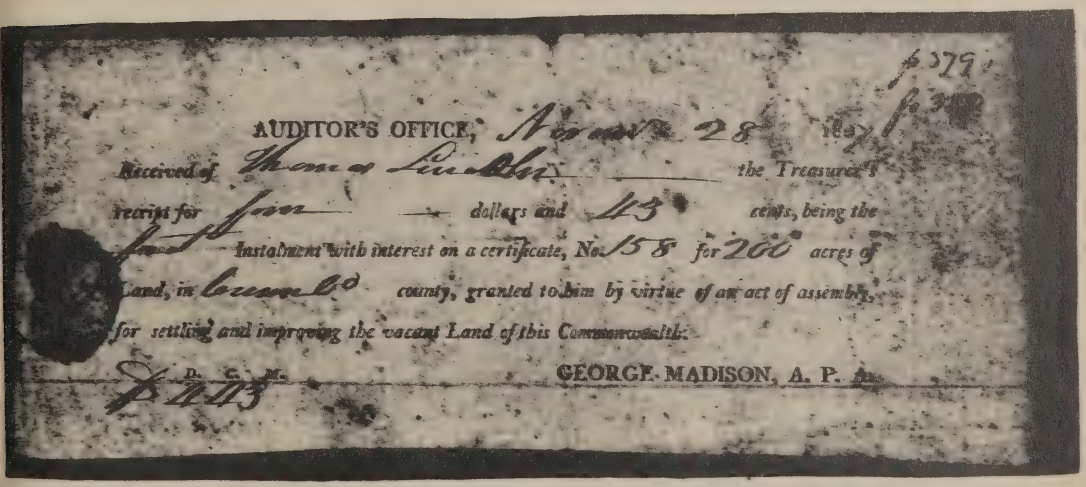
In 1923 I was invited to visit Shiloh Church and cemetery and deliver two addresses, one in the morning in the church and the other in the afternoon at the graves of Thomas and Sarah Lincoln. I did so, stipulating that I wished to interview every person living in the neighborhood who personally remembered Thomas Lincoln and his wife. During the intermission between the two meetings a glorious dinner was served, in which the speaker was invited to eat at least one piece of every cake and pie that had been provided, and he did his best to perform all that was expected of him. In 1924 Governor Frank O. Lowden and I went to the old cemetery and gave the addresses at the dedication of a monument to the father and stepmother of Abraham Lincoln. Here again I found opportunity for personal interviews with old settlers, and it added to my fund of first-hand information. I made notes of these interviews at the time and wrote them out in full form while the memory was still fresh. Added to what I had gathered in Kentucky and Indiana on repeated visits, this knowledge is of interest, and in the main reliable.

Three mighty forces go to the making of any man. First is that mysterious element of personality wherein every man differs from every other man. No two men, even though born of the same parents and reared in the same surroundings, prove to be wholly



Photographed for this work

Thomas Lincoln's bond and signature as constable of Cumberland County, Kentucky



Thomas Lincoln's receipt for land entry in Cumberland County

similar. No two leaves upon the tree, no two blades of grass, no two thumb-prints of the human hand, no two brains, no two characters, are precisely alike. The second of the forces which make us what we are is heredity. Every man is what he is partly because of what his parents, his grandparents and his remote ancestors were. The third of these forces is environment. Every man's life is shaped by the influences of other lives, by soil, climate and other conditions surrounding him. The life of Abraham Lincoln was what it was partly because of his successive environments, partly because of his inheritance, and partly because of his own personality. It is fitting that we should consider something of his inheritance through his father, Thomas Lincoln.

It is surprising that so little reliable work has been done in this field. So much has been conjectured concerning his inheritance from his mother, it is remarkable that there has been but little opportunity to learn and almost no disposition to inquire to what extent Abraham Lincoln resembled other Lincolns. His own contact with the Lincoln family was exceedingly slight. This we know, however; that Abraham Lincoln was thoroughly a Lincoln. We know enough of the Lincoln family traits to assure ourselves that however great the contrast between him and either of his parents, he had an important heritage from both. While Thomas Lincoln never could have been as great a man as his son, he gave something important to the making of Lincoln. Thomas Lincoln died before his son became famous, and he was held in no very high regard by Lincoln's earlier biographers; but in proportion as we come to know the Lincolns, and to be able to form some judgment of the character of Thomas Lincoln, we find him to have been indispensable in the heredity of his great son.[1]

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[1] As this book goes to press, the two volumes of Senator Beveridge's *Life of Abraham Lincoln* appear. They constitute a noble fragment of what would have been a monumental work. Even as they stand they are our best interpretation of Lincoln's work in Illinois as a politician. I do not find them entirely satisfactory in their treatment of his early life, and I think Beveridge was not wholly fair to Thomas Lincoln. Documents in my possession would, I am confident, have modified some of his judgments.

No one of us can spare any one of his ancestors. There is no way in which we can short-circuit the line of descent so as to cut out the obscurest and least interesting of them. Each one of them, male and female, is indispensable in his own generation; and had the place of any one man or any one woman among them been taken by any other man or woman in that generation we should not be what now we are.

We have to reckon with Abraham Lincoln as he was; and it is in some respects a minor question how he came to be what he was; but this we know, that his personality was a strange compound of diverse elements, some of them inherited from paternal and some from his maternal lines, and that he needed all of them to be Abraham Lincoln.

The cabin homes of Thomas Lincoln were primitive and humble, but they were not furnished in the most poverty-stricken fashion. I do not credit the stories of those who profess to remember these cabins, and either to have shared their luxuries or suffered their privations. I think all such stories untruthful. But we have the record of auction sales of a number of estates where Thomas Lincoln was present as a successful bidder, and he bought spoons, dishes and cooking utensils, as well as live stock and implements.

One little incident sheds light on the character of Thomas Lincoln while he was still living in Kentucky. Rev. Louis A Warren, to whom I am indebted for many discoveries of hitherto unknown facts about Thomas Lincoln, found the report of the commissioners appointed by the court of Hardin County to settle the estate of Dr. Daniel B. Porter, of Elizabethtown. He had died leaving a widow and a large amount due him in unpaid fees. He also left debts amounting to $1,560.35¾. The commissioners were able to collect out of the accounts due him the total sum of $864.89½, leaving the estate still in debt $695.46¼. The commissioners record the names of the men from whom they had been able to collect, and Thomas Lincoln is among them, having paid in full his small balance of $1.46. It is a petty item, but it shows that when Nancy

Lincoln needed a doctor she had one, and Thomas Lincoln paid his doctor's bills.

He paid his taxes regularly, and he left no unpaid debts behind him when he left Kentucky or Indiana or Decatur. He lived and died a poor man, thriftless, improvident and quite lacking in qualities that appeal to the imagination. But he was a good neighbor, a good father, a good husband.

I hold no brief for Thomas Lincoln. He was not a great man. But he was great enough to be father of a man of outstanding greatness, and some of the qualities which made Abraham Lincoln great, his patience, his good humor, his kindliness, his love of fun, he inherited from his father. We can not afford to hold in light regard the man who gave to the world so great a son.

It is often alleged that Thomas Lincoln could not read or write until his marriage, and that his wife, Nancy Hanks, taught him to write. On the contrary, he could "bunglingly write his name" as his son Abraham said, many years before he was married, while Nancy made her mark. That she could read and write, we are assured by those who knew her; that he could do so, we are assured by the fact that he did it.

It is often alleged that Thomas Lincoln was a religious vagrant. We are told on what appears to many to have been reliable authority of his going from one denomination to another. And we are told that it was his second wife, Sarah, who first induced him to unite with any church. On the contrary, Thomas Lincoln and his first wife, Nancy Hanks, were members of the Little Mount Baptist church in Hardin County, Kentucky, and when a Baptist church was organized on Little Pigeon Creek in Indiana, he united by letter, and his second wife, Sarah Bush Lincoln, by "experience." In this church, he served as trustee, often as moderator, sometimes as referee in matters of dispute, sometimes as a messenger to other churches, and when he and Sarah departed to Illinois, they brought their church letters in their pocket. There was no Baptist church here within reach, and the Lincolns became interested in the preach-

ing of Rev. Thomas Goodman, of Charleston, a minister in the Church of the Disciples of Christ. With that congregation, in their later years, Thomas and Sarah Lincoln were affiliated. Rev. Thomas Goodman preached the funeral sermon of Thomas Lincoln. I am realiably informed by some who heard it that it could be heard at a distance of half a mile. Mr. Goodman's sermon is not preserved, but he spoke highly of Thomas Lincoln as a neighbor, a friend and a consistent Christian man. Thomas Goodman committed to prairie dust the dust of Thomas Lincoln; and his old neighbors mourned for a man whom they held in high regard as an honest and kindly man and a good neighbor. People still are living who remember the funeral and the interment, and though they were children then and are aged now, we are glad of their testimony.

Thomas Lincoln was a farmer and a carpenter. He was not greatly skilled in either trade, but in neither was he wholly a failure. He was a fair, average country carpenter. He could frame a window or hang a door or build a chest of drawers and do it well. Skill in the use of tools ran in the Lincoln family. I have seen samples of the carpenter work of a number of the Lincolns, both of Thomas Lincoln and of his kinsfolk in Hancock County. They knew how to mortise and dovetail and do the ordinary work that counted for skill in the carpentry of that day. The making of coffins was a large part of the work of the carpenter of that day. I have the account book of Thomas' nephew, the younger Mordecai, who made coffins, as Thomas did. Six dollars was his charge for a full-sized coffin for a woman, seven dollars for a coffin for a man, and three dollars for a coffin for a child.

Thomas Lincoln had some skill in farm surgery, and was sent for when neighbors had need of him. There are men living in his neighborhood who remember to have assisted in some of these rude but effective operations.

The house where Thomas Lincoln died in 1851 and where his widow died in 1869 stood three and one-half miles from Shiloh Cemetery where they are buried. This double log cabin was sold

to a corporation just before the World's Fair in Chicago, and conveyed there for exhibition purposes. What became of it no one appears to know. But I have learned that Thomas Lincoln lived in that house only two days and one night. He lived in a round-log house on the same farm. A round-log house, it will be understood, is not a round house, but a square house, or at least a rectangular house, built of round or unhewn logs. Round-log houses were the first homes of virtually all the pioneers. But the settlers aspired to live in square-log houses, that is, houses for which the logs have been hewn and better fitted, and with wall surfaces more nearly plane. Such a house Thomas Lincoln aspired to own and occupy, but, not being an ambitious or excessively energetic man, he did not hasten the matter.

At last the new house was erected, a house of two rooms with a fireplace between, and it was of hewn logs. But by the time it was finished, Thomas Lincoln was a sick man. His stepdaughter, Matilda, set up a loom and did some weaving in the new house, but Thomas Lincoln lay sick in the round-log house near by.

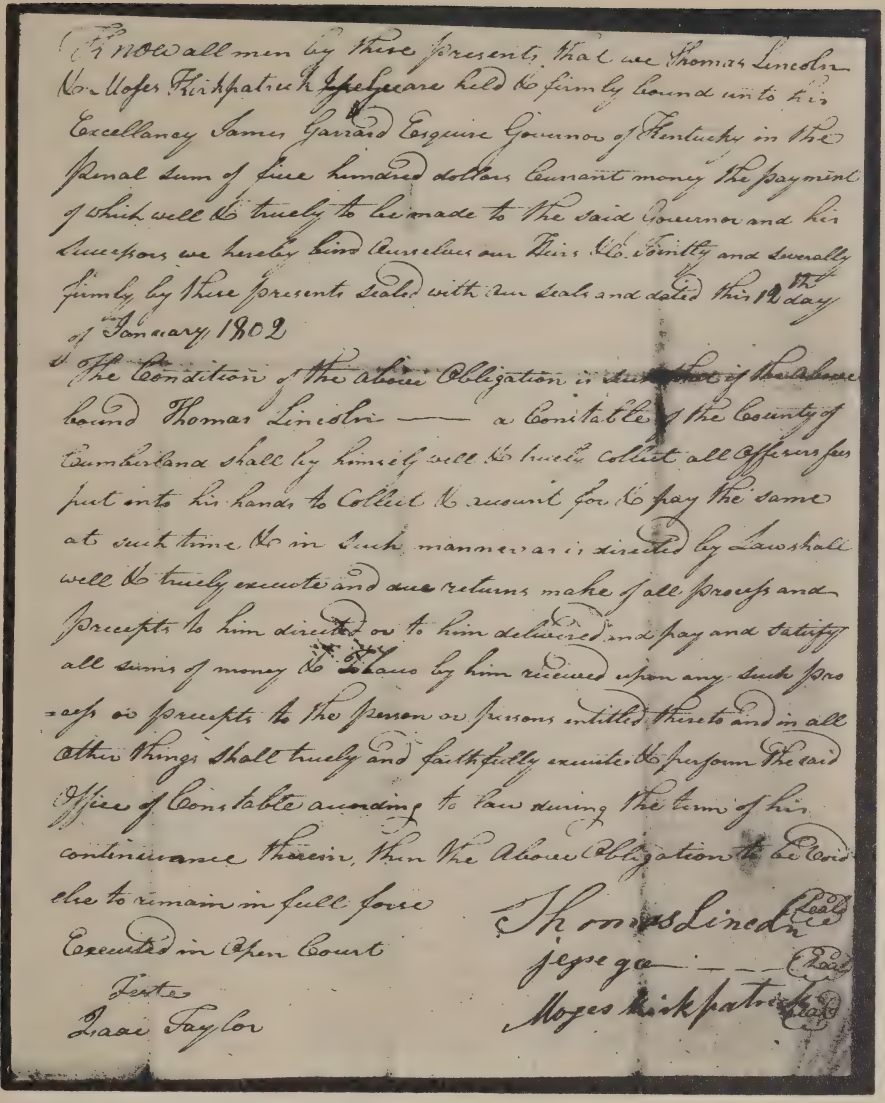
On the day before he died, he grew restless, and insisted on being moved. So a bed was set up in the new house, and his stepson, John D. Johnston, and old Beniah Wright moved him to the new home. He looked around him in content. He saw the smooth walls, hewn with his adz and broad-ax, and he was rested by the sight. He was in his own new house. He slept there that night, and rested better than he had been resting. The next day he died. They held the funeral in the new square-log house; and Parson Goodman, standing in the open door and preaching to the women and children inside and the men outside, was heard not only by both these congregations, but by every one else within a radius of half a mile, as I have already stated.

Thomas Lincoln was about five feet and nine inches tall, and weighed about one hundred and eighty pounds. He had a well-rounded face, smooth shaved. His hair was cut round on a level of the bottom of his ears; it was not shingled. He was muscular and compactly built, and had a slight stoop. He was jovial, slow

in thought and in movement, good-natured, but a dangerous man when angry. He was not a teetotaler, but was temperate in his use of liquor, and in that day was reckoned abstemious. He was friendly and kind, and had deep gray eyes that sometimes lacked luster and then kindled with a deep light. He was known in this neighborhood as "Uncle Tommy" and later as "Grandfather Lincoln." His neighbors spoke well of him, and those still living who remember him will not recall from their childhood recollections anything to his discredit. He was not educated or learned or ambitious; he was not brilliant or of extraordinary ability; but he had good sense, sound judgment, a kind heart and moderate ability. He was reliable and worthy of respect.

Of Nancy Hanks there will be somewhat extended mention in a later chapter. It is fitting that something should be said concerning Abraham Lincoln's second mother, Sarah Bush Lincoln.

Sarah Bush, a daughter of Christopher Bush, was born in Hardin County, Kentucky, December 13, 1788. She married March 13, 1806, Daniel Johnston, the jailer of that county. There is a tradition that Thomas Lincoln had been a suitor for her hand before her first marriage; if so, she did not show good judgment in rejecting him. Her first husband died in October, 1818, leaving her with three small children and a heavy indebtedness. On December 2, 1819, she married Thomas Lincoln. Her possessions in furniture were considerable as compared with his, and as he had journeyed from Indiana back to Kentucky on horseback to court her, he had to borrow from his brother-in-law a wagon to transport her and her belongings, including her three children, to the new home in Indiana. From this it has been inferred that Thomas Lincoln owned no horses of his own at the time. On the contrary, he owned horses, one or more, and sometimes as many as four or five, from the time he reached the age of twenty-one until he left Kentucky. Moreover, and I have this story direct from Mrs. Bush's own relatives, she was unwilling to marry and leave unpaid debts behind her, and Thomas Lincoln was prepared for that emergency, and paid up her debts before their marriage. She has been greatly pitied for



Know all men by these presents, that we Thomas Lincoln & Moses Kirkpatrick ~~Sparrow~~ are held & firmly bound unto his Excellency James Garrard Esquire Governor of Kentucky in the penal sum of five hundred dollars Current money the payment of which well & truely to be made to the said Governor and his successors we hereby bind ourselves our Heirs Ex. Jointly and severally firmly by these presents Sealed with our Seals and dated this 12th day of January 1802

The Condition of the above Obligation is ~~that~~ if the above bound Thomas Lincoln — a Constable of the County of Cumberland shall by himself well & truely collect all Officers fees put into his hands to Collect & account for & pay the same at such time & in such manner as is directed by Law shall well & truely execute and due returns make of all Process and Precepts to him directed or to him delivered and pay and satisfy all sums of money to ~~him~~ Law by him received upon any such process or precepts to the person or persons entitled thereto and in all other things shall truely and faithfully execute & perform the said Office of Constable according to Law during the term of his continuance therein, then the Above Obligation to be Void else to remain in full force

Executed in Open Court

Teste
Isaac Taylor

Thos Lincoln (Seal)
Jesse Ga — (Seal)
Moses Kirkpatrick (Seal)

Courtesy of Kentucky State Historical Society.

Thomas Lincoln's bond and signature as constable of Cumberland County, Kentucky, January 12, 1802

(A smaller reproduction appears opposite page 81)

having married so shiftless a man as Thomas Lincoln, but that pity has been wasted. She needed a home and a husband quite as much as he needed a wife, and his two children and her three profited equally by the marriage. She died December 10, 1869, and her grave remained unmarked until Friday, May 16, 1924, when a suitable monument to her and and her husband's memory was unveiled.

But a monument has already been erected for her in the memory of those who knew of her influence upon Abraham Lincoln. She encouraged his love of learning, though she had none of it herself. She nurtured him in the simple virtues which she knew and practised. She came to the home when the children, Abraham and his sister and their cousin, Dennis Hanks, were unkempt and ragged, and she washed and mended and patched and darned and brought cleanliness and comfort to the home. She was a true mother to Abraham Lincoln, and when he was about to leave his home in Springfield and begin his duties as president of the United States, one of the few visits which he made out of Springfield between his election and inauguration was that to the old home where he visited her, and to the spot where his father lay buried. Abraham Lincoln saw to it that as long as she lived, she had a home of her own, which even her improvident and importunate relatives could not take away from her; and in that home she lived until her death.

Seventh Generation

The children of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln, born in Hardin County, Kentucky, were:

1. SARAH, born February 10, 1807, married Aaron Grigsby, of Gentryville, Indiana, and died in childbed, January or February 20, 1828.
2. ABRAHAM LINCOLN, born February 12, 1809, died April 15, 1865. He married, November 4, 1842, Mary Todd, of Lexington, Kentucky.
3. THOMAS, born in 1811, and died in infancy.

CHAPTER IX

Abraham Lincoln

To avoid any appearance of producing a play of *Hamlet* with Hamlet himself omitted, I devote a very brief chapter to Abraham Lincoln, though for any extended treatment of this subject I must refer to my *Life of Abraham Lincoln.* For our present purposes the barest outline will suffice. He was born at the Sinking Spring farm, in that part of Hardin County which is now Larue, on Sunday morning, February 12, 1809, the first son and second child of Thomas and Nancy Hanks Lincoln. Before he was two years of age his parents moved to a farm on Knob Creek in the same county, and they lived there until Abraham was seven years of age. Removing to Spencer County, Indiana, the family remained for fourteen years until Abraham was twenty-one years of age, when they removed to Illinois. There he resided until his election to the presidency of the United States. He was inaugurated March 4, 1861, and reelected in November, 1865. He was shot on Friday night, April 14, 1865, and died next morning.

He married November 4, 1842, Mary, daughter of Robert and Ann Eliza (Parker) Todd, who survived him, and died in Springfield, Illinois, July 16, 1882.

Eighth Generation

The children of Abraham and Mary Todd Lincoln, born in Springfield, Illinois, were:

1. Robert Todd Lincoln, born August 1, 1843, married September 24, 1868, in Washington, Mary, daughter of Honorable

James and Ann Eliza (Peck) Harlan. Robert died in Manchester, Vermont, July 26, 1926.

2. EDWARD BAKER LINCOLN, born March 10, 1846, died in Springfield, February 1, 1850.
3. WILLIAM WALLACE LINCOLN, born December 21, 1850, died in the White House, February 20, 1862.
4. THOMAS or "Tad" LINCOLN, born April 4, 1853, died in Chicago, July 15, 1871.

Ninth Generation

The children of Robert Todd and Mary Harlan Lincoln born in Chicago, were:

1. MARY, born October 15, 1869, married, September 2, 1891, in London, England, Charles Isham, of New York City. They are still living.
2. ABRAHAM, born August 14, 1873, and died in London, March 5, 1890.
3. JESSIE, born November 6, 1875, married (1) November 10, 1897, at Milwaukee, Warren Beckwith, who was born at Mount Pleasant, Iowa, August 8, 1873. They were divorced in 1907. (2) At Manchester, Vermont, June 25, 1915, Frank Edward Johnson, born at Norwich, Connecticut, July 5, 1873.

Tenth Generation

The only living descendants of Abraham Lincoln in the tenth American generation are the two children by her first husband, of Jessie, daughter of Robert Todd Lincoln. They are:

1. MARY LINCOLN BECKWITH, born at Mount Pleasant, Iowa, August 22, 1898.
2. ROBERT LINCOLN BECKWITH, born at Riverside, Illinois, July 19, 1904.

With the death of Robert Todd Lincoln, the male line of descendants of Abraham Lincoln ceases.

CHAPTER X

The Quality of the Lincoln Stock

The subject of Lincoln's ancestry is one which few authors have been able to treat with discrimination and calm judgment. Contrasts have their fascination, and there is romance in the story of life that begins humbly and achieves notable success. The more humble the beginnings, the greater by contrast is the glory of the success. While Lincoln was yet in the White House, one author wrote a story of Lincoln's early life, and the publishers sent a specially bound copy of it to the White House. The book still exists, and on the title page is the scrawled comment of an early reader, perhaps Willie or Tad, that the author was "the premium liar of the century."

It is no secret that Robert T. Lincoln wearied of hearing of the extreme poverty in which the Lincoln family lived and of the unpromising background of his father's beginnings. For this he has been called snobbish, but few of us in his place would have dissimilar feelings.

Woodrow Wilson spoke of the families from which Lincoln sprang as "poor whites." That was the hasty judgment of an aristocratic southerner. The Lincolns were poor and they were white, but they were not "poor whites." Home missionary work in the mountains of Kentucky and adjacent states has been officially designated by several religious denominations as "mountain white work." A more unfortunate term could hardly have been invented; it appears to imply that the normal thing for a mountaineer would be to be black. As a matter of fact, those same denominations had pre-

viously been conducting missionary work among southern negroes, and later discovered the opportunity for work in the mountains. In contradistinction to their work already established, they called this "mountain white work." The term is not complimentary, nor is it highly intelligent. It should be abandoned. The mountaineers can no more help being white than we can help it; most of the readers of this book, presumably, are white, and not to blame for it.

While we must utter a mild but stern protest against the declaration of those who disparage the Lincoln stock as "poor white" so also must we dissent from those who attempt to exalt it above ordinary American life and blood.

Something of this tendency, I think, is displayed in an interesting article in the first number of the *American Mercury,* entitled "The Lincoln Legend," by Isaac R. Pennypacker. He reminds us that the Pennsylvania Lincolns were ironmasters, bringing that trade with them from Massachusetts, and that ironmasters were and had need to be resourceful men, and men of substance: and such stock, he maintained, did not suddenly deteriorate:

> Good human fibre, thus strengthened and disciplined by responsibility, by calls to meet sudden and unlooked for difficulties and personal danger, did not deteriorate. In a family with such a head or succession of heads, precept and example set up standards that the offspring learned must be emulated if they were to be men like their fathers. Contrary to the prevailing belief, it was from such a family that Abraham Lincoln sprang. As his rail-splitting appealed more to the proletariat of his own day than the Cooper Institute speech could do, so the legend of an origin so lowly that it does violence to the elemental laws of heredity has always been popular with the American people. At least once a year in many thousands of schoolhouses and from innumerable platforms and pulpits that legend is repeated and the accepted miracle is recounted anew. All of us are taught, year in and year out, that the Lincoln in whom was combined one of the shrewdest of politicians, a philosophical statesman, a master of English and an intellectual

> aristocrat came out of utter darkness into an effulgence of fame attained by only one other American since the beginning of the nation. The truth is that the obscurity of Lincoln's father was but an accident in the family history caused by the Indian's rifle which left him fatherless at six years—a child in the wilderness. Wherever the Lincoln family lived, in New England, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia, its members were people of substance and local prominence.

Miss Tarbell, also in her interesting volume, *In the Footsteps of the Lincolns,* is impressed with what she discovers in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania concerning the sterling worth and social standing of the Lincolns. The Lincolns, she tells us, were not "white trash," who were the camp-followers of progress, but were pioneers and people of sterling manhood.

These estimates of the substantial worth of the Lincoln family and its allied connections I deem essentially correct; but we are in some danger of running from one extreme to the other, and placing Abraham Lincoln among the aristocrats.

The people who inhabit the hill country of the South are an isolated people. They maintain fairly well the civilization which they carried into the hills, but they have not greatly advanced it. Settling in a region of which only favored and detached portions could be made to yield profitably to cultivation, they accept their limitations.

The mountain folk of the South were not slave owners. They were themselves free; and, partly from necessity, partly, in some cases at least, from principle, they did not own slaves. But they were of one racial stock with those who did own slaves, and their blood was in many cases quite as blue as that of the bluest in the blue-grass.

Abraham Lincoln's ancestry was the common ancestry of the people of the Kentucky mountains. So far as we have been able to trace it through both lines of his descent, it was unmixed Anglo-Saxon. It is a mistake to suppose that the mountain people of

Kentucky and adjacent states belong to a separate group of families from the people who inhabit the more fertile regions of the same states. If one should glance over a list of the early settlers in what are now the mountain counties of Kentucky, and a similar list of early settlers in what are now the blue-grass counties, one would find the family names interchangeable to a very marked degree. There were not two distinct and separate kinds of people, who, coming from Virginia or the Carolinas, settled, one sort in the blue-grass and the other in the mountains. Abraham Lincoln's grandfather, for whom he himself was named Abraham, came to Kentucky from Virginia in the year 1782, and his three sons grew to manhood in what is now Washington County. One of them, Mordecai, removed to Illinois, another, Josiah, to Indiana, and the youngest, Thomas, to that part of Hardin County which is now Larue. There were not three separate Lincoln families, one in Indiana, one in Illinois and one in the hills of Kentucky; it was all one family. Furthermore, the pioneer, Abraham Lincoln, had a brother, Isaac, who lived in Tennessee and prospered and owned slaves; and another brother, Thomas, who located on a rich farm in the blue-grass region, in Fayette County, a few miles from Lexington. The Lincoln stock was the same in all. Nothing could be more unscientific than to assume that the mountain people of Kentucky represent a distinct racial type. They are part and parcel of the common life of the southern central portion of America. The Lincoln family that lived in the hills of Hardin County was of as good blood as the Lincoln family that lived near Lexington. It was good, honest, American stock. That branch of the family that found its home in the Kentucky hills, was, as Abraham Lincoln said, undistinguished, but it was not ignoble. It was a good, typical, American family.

The early pioneers did not understand as well as we understand the difference in value of blue-grass as distinct from mountain land. They knew of course that a rough mountain country was less favorable to agriculture than a region comparatively level; but they did not know the wide diversity in soil values between the limestone

regions of central Kentucky and the less fertile regions of the hills. They drew no broad lines on their maps between mountains and blue-grass. The lines that have been drawn by economic and social conditions are not likely always to remain as distinct as they have been. Thousands of mountain families, having prospered by the sale of their timber or their coal, have moved and are moving into the more fertile regions of the South. Socially and economically the valleys are being exalted and the mountains and hills laid low.

The conditions of pioneer life amid which Abraham Lincoln was born were the conditions which characterized the American frontier everywhere in timbered regions, particularly on the western side of the Alleghenies. These conditions linger longer in the mountains than elsewhere, and hence have seemed particularly to characterize the mountain region. But they were the conditions inevitable to the westward movement of American population.

It is well to have these things in mind, because when we think of Abraham Lincoln we do not regard him as representative of a section. We think of him as belonging to the whole life of America. This is as it should be, but in so far as the mountains of Kentucky had a life of their own, Lincoln was fairly representative of that life. He was born in a log cabin, with an earthen floor and a stick chimney. He was poor even as poverty was counted in the backwoods. The extent of that poverty has sometimes been exaggerated, but even if the Lincoln family had been as poor as it is believed to have been, it was poverty that carried with it no conscious degradation.

Lincoln understood better than most men in public life in his day the extent to which the South possessed an anti-slavery element. We hear frequently of "the solid South." There never has been a solid South. Long before the war there was in every Southern State a strong abolition sentiment. The father and mother of Abraham Lincoln were married at a time when the anti-slavery sentiment in Kentucky was especially pronounced, and they belonged to a group of Baptist churches in which that sentiment was just then finding

most emphatic utterance. Lincoln knew that the South was not solidly pro-slavery. He knew that even among the slave-holders of the South there were many who hoped for ultimate emancipation, and he knew that the South had a large number of white men who owned no slaves and whose own free labor was cheapened and degraded by competition with slave labor. This knowledge enabled Lincoln to approach the problems of slavery with far more of caution and effectiveness than some of the more uncompromising abolitionists.

Abraham Lincoln knew, what he could not well have learned had he not lived in the South, that a very large section of the South was opposed to secession. Hence Lincoln was very patient with Kentucky when its governor in 1861 undertook to maintain an armed neutrality, taking no stand either for or against the Union. Lincoln was so patient that it was said of him in sarcasm that "Abraham Lincoln hopes he has God on his side, but feels that he must have Kentucky."

At the time it seemed preposterous that Lincoln should be as patient as he was with a state that refused to come out squarely and take its stand for the Union. But we can see from this distance that Abraham Lincoln was wise. The Albany *Evening Journal* on October 18, 1862, said:

> Kentucky even neutral would be worth 50,000 men to us; in her present loyal position she is potent almost to decide the fortunes of the war. Let us generously give her credit not only for what she has done, but for what she has prevented. Let us admit that without her aid to-day the Southwest would be irretrievably lost to the Union.

It is not too much to say that the wisdom and patience which held Kentucky in the Union was the wisdom and patience of Abraham Lincoln. He understood the loyal South because his own life was part and parcel of it. He understood the non-slave-holding South because he had sprung from its loins. That understanding on the

part of Abraham Lincoln came to him in part through his birth and residence in the hills of Kentucky, and in part through that broad and intelligent sympathy which was native to him.

Statistics furnished by the War Department show that the five states of West Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee and North Carolina, having a considerable mountain area, furnished to the Union a total of 195,557 soldiers; and that when this total is reduced according to the War Department's method to a three years' standard, the number of three-year soldiers furnished by the hill country of the South for the salvation of the Union reached an aggregate of 169,371. These were the men who held Kentucky in the Union. These were they who furnished thirty thousand soldiers from east Tennessee when Tennessee as a state had seceded. These were the men who caused West Virginia to secede from secession and add a new start to the flag. This is something that could never have happened if a radical abolitionist had been in the presidential chair. It was Lincoln's knowledge of the South, the anti-slavery South, the loyal South, which made all this possible and effective. This much at least the hill country of Kentucky did for Abraham Lincoln, it taught him to be patient with the South till the South itself raised up a great army and helped to save the Union.

As long as the story of Abraham Lincoln rings true to the life of the young manhood and the young womanhood of America, no aspiring youth need ever be discouraged. Sam Walter Foss wrote in 1894 a poem on *The Coming American.* In it he represented the genius of America as crying forth from its high mountains and its wide plains for manhood commensurate with its vast beauty and power:

Bring me men to match my mountains;
Bring me men to match my plains,
Men with empires in their purpose,
And new eras in their brains.
Bring me men to match my prairies,
Men to match my inland seas,

Men whose thought shall pave a highway
Up to ampler destinies;
Pioneers to clear Thought's marshlands,
And to cleanse old Error's fen;
Bring me men to match my mountains—
Bring me men!

Abraham Lincoln represents the answer which obscure American manhood brings to this challenge. The kin of Abraham Lincoln are located all over America. They belong to no one state; like Lincoln they belong to the common life of the nation. The humbler homes of America still send forth tall men and strong men, beautiful women and true women, men and women of character and intelligence and common sense and simple goodness, men and women capable of leadership and destined to be leaders of America's greater future. Here are the men to match the mountains.

Abraham Lincoln, had he lived, could have joined the Sons of the American Revolution, if he had cared to do so; for his Revolutionary great-grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, was a captain of Virginia militia in that war. Certain societies whose membership depends upon the applicant's ability to trace his descent from Colonial times would have been open to him. Whether he would have cared for such membership, we are not sure; he was not given to joining organizations other than political, and was conservative about that. But neither in the direct line of his American or his English ancestry was there anything illustrious. He simply came of good, clean, honest American stock; and that was as good a lineage as he desired. He made common American manhood more than ever honorable; for he was its product and its exponent and its prophet.

CHAPTER XI

Abraham Lincoln as a Lincoln

This present chapter is a contribution toward a psychology of Abraham Lincoln, considered as a member of his own family. Whether I shall ever write a volume on the mind of Lincoln I am not yet ready to proclaim. Certain it is that much that has been written which attempts to describe his mental processes tends only to befog the subject. Fortunately, almost nothing has been attempted in the way of relating him to the family whose name he bore and whose most illustrious representative he was. Authors have attempted to tell us what he inherited from his mother, and have conjectured quite at random as to the qualities which he derived from his maternal grandfather, and these are legitimate questions, the pity being that they have been discussed with practically no data on which to work.

But what did he inherit from or through his father?

Abraham Lincoln was very tall; his father was of medium height, stocky and closely knit. There was nearly as much of contrast in the matter of physique between Abraham Lincoln and his father Thomas as there was between Abraham Lincoln and his son Robert. Theories based on physical resemblances are not very reliable, and would better be omitted unless they go far enough to include accurate measurements of a sufficient number of generations to afford a basis for scientific inference. Abraham Lincoln inherited his father's gray eyes, his coarse black hair, his slow-moving and sensible habit of thought, his mechanical bent, his ready use of tools

and interest in mechanism and in boats, his ability to tell stories, and his love of fun. Of Lincoln's moods I shall speak further.

Of the Lincolns who might have claimed kinship with Abraham Lincoln, Nicolay and Hay say:

> Even the great fame and conspicuousness of the President did not tempt them out of their retirement. Robert Lincoln, of Hancock County, Illinois, a cousin-german, became a captain and commissary of volunteers; none of the others, so far as we know, ever made their existence known to their powerful kinsman during the years of his glory.[1]

Very few of the men and women who have written of Abraham Lincoln ever met any other Lincoln, except possibly his son, Robert. Abraham Lincoln's father died, and left no other child. There was no brother, sister, uncle, aunt or cousin near at hand with whom Lincoln's qualities might have been compared by his earlier biographers. Can we at this date find material for a scientific study of the Lincoln family traits? Can we learn whether he inherited all his most significant characteristics from the Hanks side or whether the Lincoln family contributed anything of importance to the making of Lincoln?

By way of partial answer, let us cross the state of Illinois to the Mississippi River, and go back to the year of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and see what if anything we may discover.

The lumbering stage that jolted its way across the rutted prairie from Carthage to Macomb, stopped for the exchange of mails at the little old village of Fountain Green, and a passenger descended. He was unusually tall, dark and lank, and wore a long, seedy black coat and a tall hat in need of brushing, and carried a cotton umbrella tied about the middle with a string. He also carried an old-fashioned carpetbag. Several of the men who were lounging about the store, waiting for the stage, identified him, for they had been at Carthage on the preceding day and had heard him speak. Carthage

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[1] *Abraham Lincoln: A History,* Vol. I: p. 4.

was the county-seat of Hancock County, a county that lay along the Mississippi River opposite the Keokuk Rapids. Boats ascending the river to Keokuk, or the Illinois shore opposite, often had to discharge their cargoes and take a new start. It had been these rapids that made a head of navigation in the early days, and that was what began the settlement of Fountain Green. That was a place, some miles in from the river, where the rank prairie grass gave way for grass of finer texture, growing around a many-mouthed spring. In this same county, but above the rapids, was the town of Nauvoo, where the Mormons settled. Joseph Smith had been taken from there, and was in the jail at Carthage when the mob captured the jail and killed him. The old jail at Carthage is now a shrine for the Mormons who visit it from other places. Joseph Smith was killed June 27, 1844. The events which this chapter describes occurred fourteen years later.

There was a political meeting in Carthage on Monday, October 11, 1858. Stephen A. Douglas, then a candidate for reelection to the United States Senate, spoke before a great crowd. A tablet set in the wall of the court-house commemorates the event. Eleven days later, on Friday, October twenty-second, Abraham Lincoln spoke there. You will find a massive upstanding boulder in the court-house yard telling you where he stood. And that boulder tells us the date of the stage ride, for Abraham Lincoln journeyed eastward from Carthage after his speech in that town, and stopped at Fountain Green. The joint debates between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas were seven in number, beginning at Ottawa on Saturday, August 21; Freeport, Friday, August 27; Jonesboro, Wednesday, September 15; Charleston, Saturday, September 18; Galesburg, Thursday, October 7; Quincy, Wednesday, October 13, and closing at Alton, Friday, October 15, 1858. The days intervening between the joint discussions were filled by the two candidates separately. Douglas said that in the one hundred days, exclusive of Sundays, between July ninth and November second, he spoke just one hundred thirty times. Lincoln spoke not so often but almost

always once a day; on certain days he spoke twice. Douglas traveled from place to place in a special car, often on a special train with a flat car bearing a cannon to announce his arrival and to echo the applause with which his speeches were received. Abraham Lincoln rode in the day coach, or in the stage. Four of the seven joint debates had been held when Lincoln spoke at Carthage.

Why did he stop at Fountain Green?

He stopped to visit his cousin, Mordecai Lincoln. When the two men met in front of the little store at Fountain Green, it was easy to see that they were close akin. Their eyes and hair and gait were all alike. Abraham was taller than Mordecai, but Mordecai was a tall man, and his two brothers, Abraham, who died in 1852, and James, who died in 1837, were also tall men of the Lincoln type.

As far as I am aware, this meeting of Abraham Lincoln and his cousin, Mordecai, is the only meeting that ever occurred in the life of the President between him and a first cousin of the name of Lincoln.

The isolation of Abraham Lincoln from his relatives of the Lincoln name was life-long and pathetic. His father, left an orphan at a tender age, became, as his distinguished son said, "a wandering laboring boy," who from the time he left home saw almost nothing of his father's people. When Abraham was born, two of his mother's aunts were near at hand, and another was not very far away, and he grew up among the Hankses. In Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois, the Hankses were with the family of Thomas Lincoln; but there were no Lincolns near. To be sure, the aged mother of Thomas Lincoln, Bathsheba by name, remembered by her grandchildren as "Granny Basheby," lived in the same county in which Abraham Lincoln was born, but so far away that if she ever saw him in the cradle we do not know it, and if he saw her he is not known to have mentioned it. It is said, though not on very good authority, that John Hanks was invited to Abraham Lincoln's wedding; perhaps so, but no Lincoln was there. And when Abraham Lincoln lay dead in the White House, and three weeks later was

buried in Springfield, there was no Lincoln present on either occasion, except the President's widow and her two sons. Nicolay and Hay comment upon the fact that even the great fame and conspicuousness of the President did not call forth his kin of the Lincoln name. We do not know that he ever met any of his first cousins named Lincoln, except on that day in Fountain Green, and there was only one of them left.

I wish greatly that I could produce a kodak picture of Abraham and Mordecai Lincoln sitting together on that occasion, and that I might give a shorthand account of their conversation. I do not have it. But I have something almost as good, and in some respects better. I have a package of old letters and other documents of Mordecai, and some of the writings of his closest kindred.

They could all write. The Hankses could not write, except Dennis and a few others. But I have yet to learn of a wholly illiterate Lincoln. Mordecai had the pen of a ready writer. So had his two brothers, while they lived. Both were justices of the peace. Abraham Lincoln, the President, knew very well that there was an Abraham Lincoln, Justice of the Peace, in Hancock County; he was familiar with certain documents prepared by him. He also knew of certain land records signed by James B. Lincoln. Both these men were his cousins, sons of his father's oldest brother, Mordecai. But both were dead in 1858, and the only one remaining was Mordecai, the youngest of the three sons of old Mordecai.

In the very year, 1830, in which Thomas Lincoln moved with his family from Spencer County, Indiana, into Macon County, Illinois, two of his cousins, who in the year 1829 had removed from Kentucky, came into Hancock County and there made their home. There lies before me a letter of the younger Mordecai, dated Leitchfield, Kentucky, January 19, 1831, in answer to one which he had just received from James B. Lincoln, dated November 4, 1830. The letter had been between two and three months on the way. At the time of writing, these two brothers, James and Abraham, and a brother-in-law, Ben Mudd, were living in "State of Illinois, Han-

cock County, the head of the rapids," as the address reads. The letter of Mordecai was really addressed to all three families, and also to his father, the older Mordecai, who had ridden through on horseback to visit his Illinois children, and see about making a home there. But that was the "winter of the deep snow." The older Mordecai was out on horseback on the day when the snow began to come down, not in flakes but by the bucketsful, if the old settlers are to be believed. He had taken a good deal of liquor to keep out the cold, and the cold and the liquor together were too much for him. His sons, Abraham and James, both carpenters and good ones, hewed a coffin out of puncheons, and as soon as the storm permitted they buried their father in a grave which can not now be identified. He had been dead more than six weeks when the younger Mordecai wrote, but the news of his death had not reached Kentucky.

Before very long, Mary Mudd Lincoln, the widow of the older Mordecai, removed from Kentucky, and came to live with her Illinois children. She brought with her two unmarried daughters, Mary Rowena and Martha, both of whom found husbands in Illinois.

In 1836, the younger Mordecai left Grayson County, Kentucky, and thereafter lived in Illinois. He made his home with his mother, who was an aged woman at the time of Abraham Lincoln's visit, and died the following year. Mordecai lived until June 15, 1867, and voted twice for his cousin, Abraham. So far as is known, no Hanks ever voted for him except old John Hanks, who was transformed into a Republican by the episode of the fence rails at the Decatur convention in 1860. Dennis Hanks, Lincoln's boyhood bedfellow, voted against him both in 1860 and in 1864. Some of the Hancock County Lincolns, also, were Democrats, but not Mordecai. He voted for his cousin, Abraham.

Mordecai was skilled in the use of tools. Some mechanical aptitude characterized nearly all members of this family. Several of them were carpenters. They were good joiners, and could do mortising and beveling and mitering and dovetailing. I have seen

specimens of their work, and it is good. Mordecai kept books. I have one of his account books now before me.

Mordecai was a shoemaker and also a tailor and a carpenter. He worked for high wages as they were then esteemed. Two dollars a day was what he reckoned his time to be worth. He was adept at the turning lathe. Two dollars paid him for making a large spinning-wheel, and four dollars rewarded him for a set of six chairs. He made doors and windows, fitting the sashes together and glazing them. Twenty-five cents paid him for turning out two large spools. He made a lathe for four dollars and fifty cents.

Mordecai Lincoln was a woman-hater. Every one said so.

He left Kentucky because a girl there was determined to marry him, and he was determined not to be married. Her name was Patsy, and we know, but need not here record, her other name. I have a letter from her father, written from Kentucky, January 29, 1837, to James Lincoln, and one still earlier, dated September 4, 1836, to Abraham Lincoln, the other brother of Mordecai. He tells of "the painful circumstances of Mordecai's departure," and the effect which that departure has had on Patsy. "What makes it the more strange," he says, "is that I can not learn that anything happened, nor can I conjecture anything, without it was a little pecuniary embarrassment that he could have got through in six months had he stuck to the noble resolution he took six or seven months previous." Like his father, and like most men of the period, Mordecai sometimes drank rather too much, and I have a letter of his about that. But he made a "noble resolution" not to do so, and his financial embarrassments would not have been of long standing if he had kept his resolution, and had married Patsy and had remained in Kentucky or taken her with him to Illinois.

He visited Patsy one night, as these letters show, and she never saw him again. That was the night of his "elopement" as his expectant father-in-law calls it.

These are dignified letters, from a man of standing and official position, and they disclose a father's sorrow for a daughter's dis-

The old mill and swimming hole
Nolin Creek, near Lincoln Farm, Kentucky

Photos, Courtesy of Illinois Central Railroad Company

The Sinking Spring on the Lincoln Farm
Hodgenville, Kentucky

appointment. Why did Mordecai run away when he was to be married?

Some first-hand information exists concerning the younger Mordecai during his life in Leitchfield, Grayson County, Kentucky. Rev. John W. Cunningham, who was born in that town in 1824, and lived there until he was nearly fifteen years of age, was a lad between twelve and thirteen when Mordecai left, and he remembered the details with distinctness when at the age of seventy-nine he wrote some of his reminiscences for the Elizabethtown (Kentucky) *News,* in September, 1903. In so far as his recollections related to the Lincoln family, they were chiefly located in Hardin County, where Abraham Lincoln was born, and where Mr. Cunningham later preached. He related, however, that in his home in Leitchfield, there lived a Lincoln family, children of a brother of Abraham Lincoln's father. He wrote:

> I am not sure of the first name of Thomas Lincoln's brother in my native town. . . . [It was Mordecai, the older—W. E. B.] He had a married daughter and a bachelor son in our village. The daughter's husband was George Washington Neighbors, who was for several years the acting sheriff of the county. . . . Mrs. Neighbors' brother was Mordecai Lincoln, first cousin of Abraham. He was commonly known as "Old Mord," though I did not think of him as an old man. He was the village shoemaker, and occupied a house of his own, with an upper story, where he slept, a lower room, that he used for his shoe shop. All of the little boys liked him because of the bits of thread and wax that he gave them. The house, I presume, is standing, and is one of the oldest in the village. Mordecai was a fiddler, and he had a fiddle that had been made by a Revolutionary soldier from pieces of sugar-tree wood with a shoe-knife as his only implement for making it. Of pleasant nights he would sit on an upper or lower porch to the house and make sweet music for the town, and would sometimes call forth responsive wild-wolf howls in a neighboring wood.
>
> Some time after I left home for Elizabethtown, Mordecai went away to Illinois, leaving everything behind him. There

were claims on his possessions which the law disposed of. On one of my visits home I found Mord's fiddle there and took it home to Elizabethtown with me. There, for two or three years, I scraped the strings of Old Mord's Revolutionary fiddle, but I never equaled the performances of the clever village shoemaker. I finally gave the fiddle to my brother, from whom it was stolen by a wandering clock-peddler. . . . I have heard Theodore Thomas' forty fiddles, and many others of note in concerts, but the memory of Old Mord's long-meter fiddling is sweeter to me than any of them.

Mr. Cunningham contributed a later article to the Louisville *Times,* March 29, 1909, in which he gave some added details:

Mordecai was a charming fiddler. In cold weather, he made music for his own entertainment in his own bedroom or shoe shop. In summer weather he made music for all who could hear his performance as he sat on the second floor of his two-story front porch. He ate his meals wherever he made arrangements for them. All the small boys were his friends, and older people were kindly disposed to him. I remember him as a man not more than forty-five years old, but he was commonly called "Old Mord." One night he left his home, his possessions and the town, and went away to Indiana [Illinois—W. E. B.] and never returned. There was no complaint of wrong-doing against him.

These two articles by a competent and truthful man assure us that Mordecai had no known occasion to leave Leitchfield and Kentucky, and it is but fair to say that nothing in the letters from Patsy's father, and nothing that has been learned from any other source, indicates that he had betrayed Patsy's confidence. Evidently the people of Leitchfield did not know that he had run away to get rid of Patsy and the prospect of matrimony. But he left from her home, and in the night, not returning to his house to take away his precious fiddle.

And he never owned a fiddle afterward, though he often visited

at homes where there were violins, and when he did so, would take up the fiddle, tune it and walk the floor playing it, the tears coursing down his cheeks. When he ran away from Patsy, he ran away from his fiddle.

All of Mordecai's near relatives wished he would marry. His mother was glad to have a son for whom to keep house, but Mordecai was not always a comfort to his mother.

It is a family secret, the reason Mordecai did not marry. The womenfolk of the Lincoln family got it from him by bits and shreds and then put this and that together as women do and will do, and they finally assured themselves that the reason Mordecai ran away from the girl he loved and hated all women thereafter was that he received a terrible shock that shattered his confidence in women. I learned it from these women relatives of his, and what I have learned I am confident is correct.

Can you keep a secret, known only to you and me and the grave? I am in position to tell you why Mordecai did not marry Patsy. The basic reason was that the Lincolns were constituted that way; they loved women but were shy about marriage. But there was in Mordecai's case a special reason which I may confide only to very discreet people.

Let us go back sixteen years from the time of Abraham Lincoln's visit to Mordecai, back to the time when Abraham Lincoln was at New Salem, wondering if he loved Ann Rutledge enough to marry her, and whether he had any right to love her. In that same year or the opening of the next we shall find Mordecai beginning to notice that Patsy was not like other girls; or rather we shall go back to the time when she was to him as other girls, before she emerged. Mordecai was then in Kentucky, and he was a shoemaker. In Mordecai's account book for that period I find this entry under the name of Patsy's father:

August 4, 1832. To making i Pare of Fine Shoes for self, $1.00
To i Pare of Shoes for Delilah Brown 1.50

Now if one dollar would make a "pare of fine shoes" suitable for a county official, what must have been the quality of the shoes that cost a dollar and a half and were to be worn by Delilah? I am afraid Delilah showed those shoes and an ungodly inch of stocking when she dismounted from her horse at meeting.

And meantime this prominent citizen's wife was going barefoot, as virtuous wives did. In October I find this record:

Oct. 16.	To 1 Pare Shoes for John	.37
	To 1 Pare for Tracy	.25

Even the baby had shoes, but Patsy and her mother were still barefoot. Not till December first do I find this entry:

Dec. 1.	To 1 pare Coarse shoes for wife	.50

Fifty cents for a pair of coarse shoes for his wife, and a dollar and a half for fine shoes for Delilah! Delilah had been wearing her calf-skin shoes half the summer and all the fall, and the wife of the man who bought her shoes had very red and chilblained feet by December when her husband brought her a pair of "coarse shoes" which cost a third as much as Delilah's, and admonished her to make them last as long as she could.

On January 19, 1833, Mordecai charged Patsy's father sixty-two and a half cents for "1 pare of shoes for Daughter." At that time Patsy was just one of the girls to Mordecai. And by that time her father's bill was nine dollars and twelve cents of which three dollars and a half was for Delilah.

But that was the last time Patsy went till midwinter without shoes. She had two pairs a year from that time on, and they were better shoes than her mother's, even if not quite so fine as Delilah's. From now on Patsy appears in Mordecai's books as "Patsy." Twice a year she displayed her foot and ankle in Mordecai's shop and Mordecai came to think her very different from and superior to the other girls.

Mordecai used to sit at night in front of his shop and play the

fiddle, and a new note was evident in his playing. There were evenings when he was not there. He had gone to "laugh and talk" with Patsy.

Mordecai did his wooing in the usual Lincolnian way, for the Lincolns were not rapid love-makers. And Patsy's mother grew solicitous. She had had experience with the ways of men, as the Delilah Brown shoe-account shows. Mordecai had made no improper advances toward Patsy; indeed, he might have advanced farther and more rapidly and still have been considered modest by the most severe critics.

At length Patsy's mother told Patsy that men often lingered just across the threshold of matrimony needing some encouragement; and that sometimes it was necessary for a girl to be very definitely encouraging. She told Patsy that one way to be sure of a man was to lead him to commit himself by an act from whose consequences he could not honorably withdraw.

To her credit, Patsy did not like this suggestion, but she accepted her mother's judgment. They set the time for the experiment when Patsy's father was away in Lexington, and Patsy's mother kept out of the way and saw that every one else was out of the way.

And then!

Mordecai was horrified. He knew that there were bad girls who were willing to do such things, but Patsy! Surely not Patsy! He could not believe that she meant what her offer appeared to mean. And when he saw that she did mean it, he rushed from the house. He fled through the night. Joseph fleeing from the temptation of Potiphar's wife did not run more breathlessly.

One could wish that Patsy's mother had not been so worldly wise. One could wish that Mordecai had reflected that in spite of that one shameful act and offer, Patsy was not a bad girl. He and she had much in common. They were of the same religion, and of that religion there is something more to be said. But Mordecai never went back, and Patsy was left there sorrowing for a lover who had loved and left her.

So now you know why Mordecai ran away from Kentucky and why he became a woman-hater.

I have said that Mordecai and Patsy were of the same religion. They were not Baptists as the Lincolns had formerly been and as most of them still were. And that is a story by itself.

During the Eucharistic Congress, held in Chicago in the early summer of 1926, Cardinal Mundelein, in all good faith, but with misunderstanding of the facts, delivered an address in which he said:

> Again and again you will hear that Abraham Lincoln, perhaps our greatest President, was unfriendly to the Catholic Church. That is not true. One of his close personal friends was a great French priest, Father St. Cyr, who first brought back to France such glowing accounts of Chicago. When Father St. Cyr came to say mass for Lincoln's stepmother, Mr. Lincoln would prepare the altar himself. Indeed, with his own hands Mr. Lincoln carved out six wooden chairs to be used at the mass. And if I could only find those chairs, I'd pay for them with their weight in gold.

Cardinal Mundelein had his information, as he informs me, from Archbishop Ireland, who had it from Father St. Cyr in his old age, after Abraham Lincoln had become famous and had died. It was natural for Father St. Cyr to go back in memory to the times when he was celebrating mass up and down the Mississippi, and to think that he remembered Abraham Lincoln, son or stepson of a widow who was a devout Catholic. And he did remember such a widow and such a son named Abraham Lincoln; but it was not that good Baptist Sallie Bush Lincoln, whom he remembered, but Mary Mudd Lincoln, whose son Abraham was the future President's first cousin, and who died in 1852. He it was who prepared the altar. But the chairs were made by Mordecai. It was the summer of 1838 when Father St. Cyr began his voyages up and down the river. Almost miraculously I have Mordecai's account books with a record of the

furnishings which he made for the little church, and in one of them he actually names Father St. Cyr!

Here is the record:

1838		
August 15	to making 2 presses	$12.00
	to making 2 mantels	7.00
	to 1 lb nales	.12½
	to 1 set of Chairs	4.00

So the priest's room in the little church was fitted up with presses for vestments and for his traveling clothes, and we may suppose that of the two mantels one was for the little church and the other for the priest's room. We may suppose that on his first visit Father St. Cyr accepted the hospitality of some member of the Lincoln family, but he wanted his own bed; and Mordecai turned out a better and more expensive one than he usually made. Two or three dollars was enough for a bed for most people, but the little Catholic community wanted a better one for the priest. Mordecai did not honor him with any title; he cared less for titles even than did his cousin, Abraham. He recorded:

Sept. 12.	to one bedstid for St Cyre	$5.00

Mary Mudd Lincoln was a devout Catholic, and she made Catholics, not all of them very reverent ones, of that branch of the Lincoln family. But some of them revolted. Mordecai was almost violent in his opposition to his mother's religion. He uttered some harsh words about it while he was yet in Kentucky, and on the Sunday following one of these diatribes he heard the priest quote his words, and say that no man who uttered such words could prosper in this life or the next. Mordecai said that after that, and after some other things which he said about the priest, the priest would never look him in the eye, either on the street or in the pulpit.

One of Mordecai's sisters went to a convent for a year. He tells

the story in a manuscript before me. He says that when she went to the convent, it was promised that she should be educated; but that she was not taught but was kept at hard work, weaving, and forgot much of what she had known before she went to the convent, and, moreover, came home weakened by the hard labor. He said that a new ecclesiastical name was given her, and the priest "slapped a veil on her." Mordecai tells how he went to the convent and brought her away. She later married, but did not live very long, and he said that her convent experience shortened her life.

We have no way of checking up these bitter affirmations. But we see that Mordecai had a passion for writing out his convictions. And all this denunciation of the nuns and the priests and the people of the church must have been hard for Mary Mudd Lincoln to hear. His mother made efforts to change his mind concerning these matters, and she persuaded her other children; but Mordecai wrote a letter to "The Widow Lincoln and Her Family" declaring his independence.

Except for these matters, Mordecai Lincoln was a good son, and his mother loved him. And she saw that he did not care for women, and knew that she was likely to have him as her support as long as she lived.

It was a hard task which Mary Mudd undertook, when, marrying the older Mordecai Lincoln, she endeavored to make good Catholics out of a stock that for generations had been Baptist. The measure of her success should have rewarded her in part for her difficulties. While few of the Lincolns who descended from this marriage became very ardent Catholics, and some of the younger generations revolted, there remains a strong Catholic strain in this branch of the family.

But Mary Mudd Lincoln had a hard time with her son, Mordecai. He sat by the fire and wrote long treatises against the Jesuits, and at times he burst forth into violent invective. Some things that he wrote would not look well in this chapter. And yet he had a strain of reverence, and once, not having acknowledged any other religion,

and being pressed for a definition of his own position, he said that judged by his own standards, and not by those of the priests whom he hated, he was still a Catholic. It would have gladdened Mary Mudd to know that after all the evil things he said about her religion, he would be buried, as he was, beside her, in consecrated ground. There is a forlorn little old cemetery, a half-mile back through fields, where the little Catholic church once stood. Not one stone now stands erect. But in that cemetery Mary Mudd Lincoln and her vehemently protesting son, Mordecai, lie side by side.

Mordecai was a man of moods. So were nearly all the Lincolns. After the death of his mother, he lived like a hermit. He had a dog and a cat and his books—all the Lincolns managed to have some books, and Mordecai, if not a diligent reader, was a student. He had a great memory. A neighbor lent him Victor Hugo's great story, and he read it so intently that the characters all became real to him, and he could relate the story almost verbatim.

At times, Mordecai worked with great industry, but he was a Lincoln in the matter of hard work. He was strong, and capable of working, and at times he showed steady industry. But his moods as to labor varied. He did not enjoy labor for its own sake, and there were days when he forsook his work and loafed and told stories, or engaged in acrimonious controversy. His cousin, Abraham, had a dangerous gift of sarcasm, and at times used it mercilessly; but he learned how to curb it. Mordecai never learned, and he was always ready to stop work and say harsh things about the people and institutions he hated. He liked his lathe, and did his work well. He made wagons and coffins and clothes presses and many other articles. But at times he stopped work and brooded, or went to the woods and was gone for a whole day, hardly speaking to any one he met, but returning in his normal frame of mind.

By fits and starts he visited his neighbors. No one knew when or why he was coming and seldom knew just why he had come. Sometimes he sat and talked politics or religion or neighborhood news. Sometimes he came to curse a neighbor or a relative or to tell his

opinion of the priests. Sometimes he came to play the violin. Sometimes he came to sit silent and moody.

Crazy? Not at all. All the Lincolns were odd. No one of them ever went insane. But there ran through the entire family an unstable equilibrium of intellectuality and emotion.

Mordecai Lincoln cultivated flowers, and in that regard was most unlike his cousin, Abraham, who said that, in such matters, something appeared to have been left out of his nature. Hancock County still has its "Uncle Mord roses" which he propagated. He was fond of fruit, and the Lincoln farms have excellent fruit trees to this day. He had a trick which he liked to play at the Joe Duncan school. He would go there with a bag of big red apples, open the door, and roll an apple to every boy and every girl, carefully saving the biggest and reddest one for the teacher.

With all his cantankerousness, he was a likable man, and had many traits that endeared him to people. And, in spite of all his crabbedness toward his mother on account of her religion, he was a good son.

In some of his dark moods, he drank so heavily that his friends were troubled about him. Some of them came to him and advised him to stop drinking. I have a letter written by him August 16, 1853, and it is rather more than possible that it was written to a Protestant minister, but the name is not given. In it Mordecai says:

> As for your hopes or wishes with regard to me, they don't interrupt my mind at all. I clame it as my rite to drink anything I please to drink and by the same rule I clame it as my wright if I think it best for my self to let it alone.

It will be noted that his spelling sometimes was erratic, but this was true of most letters of the period, and his handwriting was good.

Although he drank, and sometimes drank too much, he was not so heavy a drinker as his father, and was not accounted a drunkard.

The exact age of Mordecai I do not have. His parents were

married in 1792, and his two older brothers appear to have been born before 1800. They both, and his sister Elizabeth, who married her cousin, Ben Mudd, were married before they left Kentucky in 1829, but his two younger sisters were young and unmarried at that time. He was of age, and capable of attending to legal business in 1830, but probably was not much past twenty-one in that year in which Abraham Lincoln, the future President, came of age. Practically, he was of the age of the President, and in many respects much like him in his mental make-up.

All the Lincolns in Hancock County were men of ability, and their abilities were of the same general kind as those of Abraham Lincoln. They were capable of close thought and sound logic. They were men given to wit, and, like Abraham, had a merciless gift of satire, which he possessed but learned to control. They were men of moods, all of them, the men more than the women, though the women were not free from such.

It is in the matter of these moods we are especially interested. Abraham Lincoln had them. He went from boisterous merriment to depths of gloom, and often without any reason which his associates could assign.

Sentimental writers have no difficulty in accounting for these moods. Lincoln loved Ann Rutledge, so they say, and he almost went insane when she died. After that, he was a changed man. There is good reason to believe that Abraham Lincoln did indeed display great sorrow on the death of Ann Rutledge; but have we any reason to suppose that his grief on her account was the first outbreak of his melancholy? William H. Herndon affirmed that Lincoln was a sad man because he was unhappy in his domestic relations. That Abraham and Mary Lincoln sometimes made each other unhappy is undeniable, but is there any reason to believe that each would not have been more unhappy without the other?

Suppose we undertake to do what no one yet has undertaken, to discover whether Abraham Lincoln was a Lincoln in his mental equipment, and whether these moods were such as other members

of his family had? We shall not discover the answer without some labor, but we shall find that not Mordecai only but others of Abraham Lincoln's first cousins and close kin had similar moods. The Mudd family, that by intermarriage descended from Ben Mudd and Elizabeth Lincoln, daughter of the older Mordecai, had "the Lincoln horrors" and called them by that name. "The Lincoln hypo" was a term well understood in the family and by the neighbors. We shall find, if we explore far enough, that we do not need either Ann Rutledge or Mary Todd to account for Lincoln's gloom. Many of the pioneers had it, in greater or less degree, but the Lincoln family as a family were peculiarly addicted to it.

Did Abraham Lincoln know this?

I doubt it. So far as I am aware, Thomas Lincoln was not particularly subject to these fits of depression. Abraham Lincoln was accustomed to think of himself as inheriting more, intellectually, from his mother than his father. But he and Thomas were not wholly alike in their mental characteristics and he can hardly have been expected to realize how much or little he inherited from the Lincoln side, for practically, he saw no Lincoln. As for the Hankses, he lived among them the entire first half of his life; and his mother seemed to him, as he remembered her dimly from his tenth year, to have been nobly superior to other members of her family. It is little wonder he told Herndon, in 1850, that from her he inherited his ability to think and reason. Would Lincoln have been quite so sure of this if he had known more Lincolns? Would he have said it after he had spent a night with Mord Lincoln, and found in him the keen wit, the capacity for satire, the love of argument, the power of reason, which he found in himself?

That Abraham Lincoln was mentally and physically a Lincoln only those have denied who did not know the Lincolns. John Hay lived not far from them, but did not know them. After the Civil War, Hay retired for a time to his old home in Illinois, and went from it to be Secretary of the Legation at Vienna. He left his home in Warsaw, and he made this record in his diary:

> Rode to Carthage in the same seat with Robert Lincoln, a second cousin of the late President. He is forty-one years old, looks much older. The same eyes and hair the President had—the same tall stature and shambling gait, less exaggerated. Drinks hard, chews ravenously. A rather rough, farmer-looking man. He says the family is about run out. "We are not a very marrying set." He is dying of consumption, he said very coolly. There was something startling in the resemblance of the straight thicket of hair, and the gray, cavernous eyes framed in black brows and lashes, to the features of the great dead man.

This Robert was a son of Abraham Lincoln's first cousin, Abraham. He died in Carthage, September 5, 1868, after making a campaign speech for General Grant. He did resemble the great dead man, and so did his brother Hezekiah, and a number of other cousins.[1]

"We are not a very marrying set," said Robert Lincoln to John Hay. He spoke truly. The Lincolns, the men especially, were not highly matrimonial. A very considerable fraction of them did not marry.

"What kind of men were the unmarried Lincolns?" I asked different members of the family and their neighbors. "Were they dissolute men?"

No, they were not dissolute.

"Where they woman-haters?"

"No, except for Uncle Mord. He hated women. The others did not. Indeed, it seemed as if it was because they cared so much for women they were overwhelmed with the thought of marriage."

"That does not sound like a very good reason."

"It may not have been a good reason, but it is more nearly the reason of the Lincolns than any disinclination to marry or any lack of appreciation of the charm of women. They were great admirers

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[1] Senator Beveridge makes the mistake of saying that all the Lincolns except Abraham remained Democrats. That is not true of all the descendants of Mordecai Lincoln.

of women, but they stopped short of matrimony. But Uncle Mord did not care for women."

"It was no physical disability that kept them from marriage?"

"Not at all. Those who married were generally happy in their married life. There was not a single divorce among them. Most of them had good-sized families. But they had some strange feeling of the solemnity of marriage that held them back."

I have too many friends in Springfield, Illinois, to raise at this point the question whether Abraham Lincoln and Mary Todd set more than one date for their wedding, and whether Abraham Lincoln ran away from his own wedding. But Abraham Lincoln, who, as I believe, sincerely loved and greatly admired Mary Todd, and had loved several women before he met her, shrank from marriage. There was no physical disability in his case. His first son was born within a year, and after that there was a new baby once in two years until there were four children. Why did the Lincoln men shrink from marriage?

I think the disabilities were wholly mental. They grew out of the caution, the contemplative nature, the moodiness of the family, concerning which I have collected a great deal of information, all of it new to students.

This study opens doors for a number of interesting inquiries. For the first time we are in position to make a study of the mind of Abraham Lincoln as a Lincoln. We have some material, a great deal of it, indeed, toward a comparative analysis of Lincoln's temperament in the light of his inheritance. And some one, possibly the present writer, will go further toward such a study. It will stop a vast quantity of cheap sentimentality which has no scientific basis, and some alleged scientific study which is futile and misleading because we have not had the facts.

But now I must tell you another secret, and I do it under seal of confidence. This is the secret:

Mordecai Lincoln was not a woman-hater.

He really cared for Patsy, the girl in Kentucky from whose em-

brace he fled one night and whom he never saw again, but he was afraid of marriage. He was never afraid of anything else, man, woman, pope or devil—he defied them all; but he was afraid of marriage. And from that time on they said he was a woman-hater. Read this:

My Favorite Girl, Elizabeth:

I can call you by no other name in my heart but My Favorite Girl. The first time I ever saw you in my life, my mind was filled with the site of your person, but sutch was the circumstances in my life that I thought it better for me never to see you or any other girl that there was any likelihood of my becoming so greatly attached too. But by that means I have added fuel to the flame that is burning in my bosom. . . . I believe that I now see a fairer prospect before me than I have beheld for 7 or 8 years; and if you could be as willing to risk me as I am to undertake, the time would not be far ahead till a great portion of all my time in business would be employed in trying to render you as happy as possible in this life. Elizabeth, I naturally hone for your company here with me, but when I look around you are not here. All that I can do is to nourish and cherish my strongest wishes for the welfare and happiness of the object of my affections.

Affectionately yours,

MORDECAI LINCOLN.

He went to Nauvoo or Carthage and bought tinted paper for this letter. It must have been a rarity: the shade is robin's egg blue. He wrote out his love in this fashion.

And he lost courage, and did not send the letter.

He continued to be known as Mord Lincoln, the woman-hater.

The years passed by. His mother died, and he was alone in the house with his dog and cat and books and lathe and his paper and ink. He was more than fifty years of age, a sour, moody and at times very angry man, and a confirmed woman-hater. So they all said. But on November 2, 1862, he wrote a letter which began "Dear Catherine." She was a school-teacher, and had been slan-

dered, and Mord had risen to defend her good name. He did it, if his letter is to be trusted, like a knight rushing in to smite down the hand that would be lifted to stain the name of a lady. And when he had done all this, he offered her his hand.

He was not sure that she would accept him. He wanted her "the worst of anything" and he made one small request. If she could not accept him, let her think now and then of him; for he thought always of her.

Apparently he mailed this letter, giving it to his niece, Emily Lincoln, to take to the post-office at Fountain Green, and what I have is his penciled first copy. Doubtless he copied it in ink.

This is where the story stops, and you may supply the rest of it as you like. I find no answering letter from Catherine, nor any record that indicates that she returned his love.

No wonder. By that time he was counted an old man, and was crotchety and moody and his habits were planted and grown. Catherine was a school-teacher, and could do better, and probably did. But this old letter serves to show that even Mord Lincoln, the woman-hater, was not so consistent in that hatred as some people thought him to be. It is easy for a man to hate women, but few men are able to do it consistently. Mordecai Lincoln was thought to be one of the few; and you know more about it now than did his neighbors. Most men, it may be believed, at some period in life, have renounced women and all their works; but this world is not so constituted as to make it easy for a man to maintain that attitude for ever. With a procession of attractive women for ever passing down the pike, it is hard for a man to live very long in this world and maintain a steady and unswerving hatred for women.

Mordecai died June 15, 1867; he kept his kind heart and sharp tongue to the end, and he was believed to have died in the Catholic faith.

I was not born when Abraham and Mordecai Lincoln had their one visit at Fountain Green, and therefore was not present. I greatly regret this delinquency on my own part, for I should like

to tell what these men said to each other about women. Although I was not there, I have some ideas with regard to the matter, and I give them for whatever they are worth.

Both Abraham and Mordecai were reticent men. They did not talk lightly of the things that were closest to their hearts. But they were interested in each other, and in each other's affairs, and in their common heritage as representative of the Lincoln family. They told each other, I think, about the migration of the Lincoln family from Virginia to Kentucky, and Abraham was eager to learn what Mordecai had heard from his father, who was a lad of fifteen at the time while Abraham's father, Thomas, was only six. They rehearsed the story of the murder of their grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, by an Indian, and how Mordecai's father, Mordecai, took deliberate aim through one of the cracks in the cabin wall and shot the Indian dead. They talked of their cousins, the children of Josiah, who had removed to Indiana, and of the children of their aunts, some of them in Kentucky and others in Missouri. And they surely talked a little about their own family life. Abraham was married and the father of four sons, three of them living and dearly beloved by him. Mordecai was, as we know, a bachelor, with no prospect of being anything else.

I wonder if Abraham asked Mordecai why he had lived his lonely life unmarried, and whether Mordecai told him that he had once come near to marrying a girl in Kentucky, but when the time approached his courage failed. And I wonder if Abraham said, "I, too, experienced a strange and unreasonable timidity as I saw my wedding-day approaching. I did not marry until I was thirty-three, and sometimes think it was almost a miracle that I married when I did."

I wonder if Mordecai, with his habit of doing the unexpected, said to Abraham, "But don't you find it a constant annoyance? Women are such unreasonable creatures; is it not a bother to have to live with one of them?"

And Abraham might have answered, "Women have their weak

points, cousin, and so have we men. Mary and I have our ups and downs, and our occasional disagreements. She has a hot temper, and I am an awkward fellow and often do things that are annoying. Still, we love each other, and we have our common hopes and ambitions, and we have our boys. I am glad I found courage to get married, though for a long time it was matter of profound wonder to me that it ever could have happened."

Some such conversation as this might have happened between the two men, and I do not think any one can prove that words such as these were not actually spoken by these two cousins to each other.

Abraham Lincoln went on his way, speaking practically every day, and meeting his three remaining appointments for joint discussion with Douglas. Mordecai went back to his bench, and made his spinning-wheels and coffins. But as he worked, I wonder if he did not say to himself:

"My cousin, Abraham, and I are much alike in many respects. We look alike; we think and write and speak alike. And both of us admire women, and each of us had his strange shrinking from marriage. But Abraham found courage to go forward, and now he has something to live for, a wife and three boys; and I am lonely Mord Lincoln with no one to care. I wish I had married Patsy and not made such a fool of myself. For, in spite of what the neighbors think of me, I am a very unsuccessful woman-hater."

Now this, I think, is a story of absorbing human interest, and well worth our journey to the Mississippi, and our study of the old documents, and our interview and correspondence with the Lincolns still resident there. But we have done more than recover an interesting story. We have discovered for the first time a body of material for the beginning of a scientific analysis of the mind of Abraham Lincoln as a Lincoln. Here we find Abraham Lincoln's distinguishing traits to have been traits of the Lincoln family. We have our largest body of evidence in the local traditions and the documentary material of Mordecai, but his, too, were characteristic Lincoln traits. These two cousins were alike in appearance, in

mental processes, in warmth of heart and caustic wit, in gentleness and biting sarcasm, in moods mirthful and melancholy, in love of women and chaste life with shrinking from marriage, in habitual sound judgment varied by strange behavior that made people wonder if they were crazy, but which never sent a Lincoln to an asylum. Their handwriting is strikingly similar.

This mention of the handwriting of President Lincoln's cousin Mordecai reminds me of the striking similarity in the letter-formation in the signatures of Captain Abraham Lincoln, one of them recently discovered, and photographed for this book, and those of his distinguished grandson.

We do not profess to have discovered and revealed all mysteries, but we, the reader and the author, know better now than any other people know, that Abraham Lincoln was really a Lincoln.

PART TWO

The Hankses

MAP SHOWING VIRGINIA HOMES OF THE HANKS FAMILY
and a few of their neighbors

CHAPTER I

Tracing the Hanks Line

Tracing the Lincoln line in America has not been without its difficulties, but these are trivial compared with what one undertakes who would trace the Hanks genealogy. For this there are several reasons.

The first reason is that Abraham Lincoln himself told all he knew about the Lincolns and as little as he well could about the Hankses. No intelligent and unprejudiced person reading his several attempts at autobiography can doubt that the meagerness of his references to the Hanks share in his heredity was intentional, and no such person, pursuing his studies honestly, can be in any serious question as to Lincoln's reason.

The second reason is that the Lincoln family in Massachusetts began as early as 1848 a diligent effort to connect the family line of Abraham Lincoln with the ascertained results of their extensive researches into their own family history, and that no similar attempt then or for many years afterward was made by members of the Hanks family. When such attempt was made, the light that was in it was darkness.

The third reason was that the Kentucky Hankses of Lincoln's day were almost one hundred per cent. illiterate. They simply had no family records. The most diligent search has not produced one single document made by a Hanks in the effort to record contemporary history in that family until Dennis Hanks, almost the only member of the immediate family who then could write, began to furnish William H. Herndon with information in 1865 and 1866.

The next reason is that the ordinary sources of information, the books which contain lists of officials, of persons of more or less distinction, of which there are many that relate to Virginia, are totally void of information on this family. To a professional genealogist, it appears that there simply is no place to start.[1]

And the last reason that I shall give, and one that I shall mention more than once, is the misleading work that has been done by biographers who wanted something better than the truth. I confess that after I had made several journeys to Kentucky, had written some scores or possibly hundreds of letters, and traveled once or more to Virginia in quest of material on the Hanks family, I was tempted to consign the whole problem to perdition, that is, to the place of things utterly lost.

An account of the family from which President Lincoln's mother came would have been greatly simplified if Mrs. Caroline Hanks Hitchcock had not published in 1899 her little book, *Nancy Hanks*. The two surprising things about this slender book are, first, that so much of misinformation could have been contained in so small a volume, and, secondly, that so many usually discriminating people could have been deceived by it. That she wrote in good faith makes the book none the less mischievous.

This book promised that a complete genealogy of the Hanks Family in America was soon to appear, with Mrs. Hitchcock as its author. That volume has not yet (1929) been published, though thirty years have gone by, and it is quite certain that Mrs. Hitchcock did not possess in 1899 and does not now possess either the material or the discrimination to produce a reliable work of this character.

Ten years later, Messrs. Lea and Hutchinson were issuing their

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[1] The volumes of Henning's *Statutes* would seem of necessity to contain almost every possible Virginia family name, but the name of Hanks is not there. Bishop Meade's *Old Virginia Churches and Families* has been supplied with an index containing sixty-nine hundred proper names. No Hanks is among them. The Hanks family was certainly there, but its complete absence from books where it might have been expected is not only surprising but to the seeker for a genealogical beginning it is most disconcerting.

Ancestry of Abraham Lincoln and Mr. Lea obtained from Mrs. Hitchcock the loan of such of her manuscript as bore on the subject of his quest. He discovered that Mrs. Hitchcock had assumed many things which she had not proved, and he attempted to rectify some of her more obviously incorrect statements; but he lacked material, and his conjectural emendations shed little added light on the problem. It now becomes necessary to say that Mrs. Hitchcock in this little volume has been a blind guide, and she has conducted innumerable writers into a ditch of inconsistency and inaccuracy from which there is no possible escape if her book is relied upon at all. It is hopelessly unreliable.

It was unfortunate for Mrs. Hitchcock that the tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amon had not been discovered when she wrote. She could hardly have escaped proclaiming that Egyptian sovereign as the progenitor of the Hanks family.[1] She derives the name Hanks from the Egyptian *Ankh,* image or soul, the middle member of the name of the king whose recently discovered tomb has captured the public imagination. She traces the regal house of Hanks through the centuries down to the Druids and on to the heroic days of King Arthur. In due time they land at Plymouth Rock, and continue their triumphal march through the wilderness to Virginia and Kentucky. She finds at Bardstown the will of Joseph Hanks, and if she was not the discoverer of this will, she at least deserves credit for its first publication. My impression is that the will was discovered by a Kentucky woman who informed Mrs. Hitchcock, but of this I am not sure. This will is a highly important document. The unfortunate fact is that it should first have been presented to the public by a woman who leaped to a false conjecture and that the public accepted the conjecture as a proved fact.

The Hanks family came from Virginia. Lincoln knew that both his father and his mother were born there. He knew the county from which his father came. Apparently he did not know from

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[1] Since I first wrote this sentence, a college professor has actually written a paper based on this identical absurdity.

what county the Hankses came. Nor did Mrs. Hitchcock know, but that fact did not prevent her naming the county, and the neighbors, and the kinsfolk by marriage, and the land transfers, no one of which was true of the Hankses.

Mrs. Hitchcock was not an intentional falsifier. She was a member of the Massachusetts branch of the Hanks family, and she had a pardonable ambition to declare herself a relative of President Lincoln. It was easy for her to conjecture that a missing member of the Massachusetts Hanks family (who probably died in infancy) disappeared from the Massachusetts records by removing to Virginia and that he there founded the family from which the President sprang. This conjecture speedily became to her a demonstration, and as such it was accepted by practically all who followed her.

Nine or ten years ago, after I had sent to the publisher the manuscript of *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln* and had begun writing *The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln,* I was working in the New York Public Library in the effort to construct a correct genealogical background for that book. I found among other material a magazine with an extended and comprehensive article which seemed to me to be a convenient summary of ascertained results. The office of that magazine was not far away, and when I left the library I went there, and asked at the desk for a copy of that issue. The publisher, who was in an inner office, overheard the request, and stepping out inquired whether it was the Lincoln article that I particularly desired. He said the lady who wrote that article was at that moment in his office, and he offered to introduce me. He presented me to her, and soon left the office, and I had opportunity to ask her many questions. I found her intelligent and well informed. But she grew serious as our conversation proceeded, and at the end she said, "I must warn you confidentially not to depend upon my article. I wrote it in good faith, and upon what I thought was reputable authority. I still think the article reliable as to the male line, but as to the Hanks genealogy, I am now satisfied that I was wholly wrong,

and that the finding of the truth is a task which will require great labor and be attended with very uncertain results."

After we separated I reread her article, and could see no reason for her warning. I wrote her, but she was not communicative. She did not profess to know the truth; she had simply become convinced that she and other writers were wrong. She had no adequate way of correcting what she had already written; she only warned me not to believe it, and she preferred not to say anything more. I have had no communication with her since, but I thank her for her warning which only served to bewilder me at the time, but which helped me to understand some things that I was later to discover.

Some time after this I visited Jesse W. Weik who collaborated with Herndon in the writing of his *Lincoln,* and who personally made investigations in Kentucky regarding the Hankses. He declared to me without hesitation that my misgivings were more than justified, and advised me to depend upon nothing but the results of an independent investigation.

I wrote to Miss Ida M. Tarbell, saying, "I want to believe what you have written on this subject, but are you sure?"

She replied courteously and honestly. This was not a matter which she had personally investigated. She had taken her material from people whom she trusted, and whose investigation, so far as she knew of it, seemed honest and reliable. She still thought that what she had written was correct.

I wrote to Mrs. Hitchcock, telling her that I held her little book in high esteem, and had every inclination to agree with it, but that I had encountered unexpected and serious difficulties, and asked if she could lend me, out of her material assembled for the promised Hanks genealogy, such parts as related to the ancestry of the President. She replied courteously, saying that her papers were not at the time available for my use, and referring me to her little book, which she was confident would afford me all the information I required. I replied that I was already familiar with her book, but

that I needed guidance to the source material, of which I was sadly ignorant, but of which I doubted not she had abundance, and that I desired it in order that I might form an independent, and, as I hoped, a confirmatory judgment. Again she gave me a courteous reply, but no assistance. She did not see why any one should require anything more than she had already printed, and as for certain discrepancies between her findings and those of Lea and Hutchinson to which I had called her attention, she said it was they who were in error. I ceased looking for light from Mrs. Hitchcock.

I submitted some of my findings to Judge Daniel Fish, eminent as a Lincoln bibliographer, who had covered this ground in an article for an encyclopedia. He was somewhat appalled by what I disclosed to him, but could only say, "That subject is loaded with dynamite. It would be fatal to take issue with so many and such eminent authorities unless one could be wholly sure of his ground."

I had no desire to encounter the dynamite, and I was very reluctant to turn aside from lines of Lincoln study that more properly belonged to me, but I wanted to know the truth. I could not rest with results which I had found to be incorrect in their substantial parts. I had other work to do in the preparation of my *Life of Abraham Lincoln* and other books about him, and from this labor I could not turn away; but, while pursuing my major task, for nearly a decade now I have left no stone unturned to build up a truthful account of President Lincoln's mother's family.

And here it is.

CHAPTER II

The English Home of the Hankses

If a visitor to England believes the Great Western Railway, and so far as I know its word is good, it is possible to leave London in the morning and to arrive at Malmesbury at a more or less certain hour in the afternoon. But when he looks at a railway map of England, and sees where Malmesbury is, and how many junction points there are, he loses faith in the ability of any locomotive to find its way, and decides to motor the hundred miles. When he arrives in Malmesbury by this or any other route, and sees the train hesitatingly enter the town, he is ready to say that it may have happened to get there this time, but he is not sure that it can ever do so again. As for me, I traveled the first time by automobile from the once gay and still interesting town of Bath, and from there went on by way of Stonehenge and Old Sarum to Salisbury. The famed Salisbury Plain seems more depopulated than ever with its rows of empty huts where the soldier boys of England and of America spent many muddy weeks in the days of the late unpleasantness; and the solemn Druid circle at Stonehenge stands more isolated than ever.

I went to Malmesbury because it is believed to have been the ancestral home of the "family by the name of Hanks" from which Abraham Lincoln somewhat reluctantly admitted his descent. But Malmesbury has other interests. Indeed, there are few towns in England that better repay a visit. Being a little less than one hundred miles from London, it is not far out of the way, and in the old days it was on or very near the Foss Road, one of the old Roman thoroughfares. It has its honorable place in early Saxon history, and

in very much that has occurred in almost every period of the life of the English people. Its special interest for American students is the occasion of the present writing, but few of them find it. Indeed, in a recent American book of travel in England, I find this old town favored with a chapter, but without a name. The author of that book, who apparently did not suspect its chief interest for Americans, said that the town was so quaint and interesting he did not wish to spoil it by making it too easy for the curious to find their way thither.

I was told that it is possible to get into Malmesbury without going down a hill and up a hill and across a bridge, but I did not find any such way. Entering it from a northerly direction, as one does in coming from Bath or Oxford or London, one discovers the town to be located on a kind of promontory between the branches of the Avon. The two streams almost meet above the town, turn their backs on each other, then reconsider and decide to try it again. So they meet below the village. The town is almost an island, and it stands high. The railway has to enter it by way of a tunnel and one or more bridges.

And so one comes to the Market Cross, one of the most interesting in England. It is "made al of stone, and curiusly voulted for poore market folkes to stand dry when rayne cummith. Ther be 8 great pillars, and 8 open arches, and the work is 8 square: one great pillar in the middle berith up the voulte," as an ancient description accurately informs us. It has a central column crowned by a finial, with eight flying buttresses ornamented by statues.

If you turn to the left at the Market Cross, past the tower of what once was a church, but now is a belfry in one parish, used to call pious folk to church in another parish, you shall observe at what is presumably the most dangerous of all old Malmesbury's street corners, and there are others, a municipal mirror placed so as to enable you to see who is likely to run you down at the corner. Pass under the mirror, and go down steps one story in total height, and you confront a plain door in an interesting old house, and on the

door, almost obliterated by long generations of shining, a brass plate bearing the name HANKS. We will go there later. For there live the present resident members of the family that Abraham Lincoln made famous, one of the second or undistinguished families of Virginia, as he said, "a family of the name of Hanks." The old house has hardly a right angle in it, but it is solidly constructed, and its rear windows look out over the Avon toward Daniel's Well, and the stepping stones by which the early folk of Malmesbury crossed the Avon, listening more or less willingly to the Gospel as they crossed.

For in the old Saxon days, as the Venerable Bede tells, and I think also that distinguished historian William of Malmesbury, it was the custom of pious monks to select their positions near the fords, ferries and bridges, and to sing to travelers, and if they were able to induce the travelers to halt, to preach as well. One of the most interesting of these old fords, famed in the chronicles of the early monks, is that on which the Hanks windows look down. But we shall return for another view of this interesting spot, stirring our tea the while in the best china of the Hanks family.

We do not know that the Romans did any fighting about here, or that the Druids were active in missionary work from Stonehenge as a center. We suspect that it must have been so, and we think we discover evidences of Druid occupation; for in front of the old Sun Tavern we see a row of tapering stones set on end, each crowned with a round stone like the top one-third of a globe. But these, we learn, are granary posts, with fenders to prevent the rats from getting to the grain. It is disappointing to have one's antiquities so rudely modernized. Those stones may not be more than five hundred years old, and are not worth stopping to look at.

As early as 400 A.D., Malmud, King of Britain, founded or restored a town at or near the confluence of the two Avons. About 519 the kingdom of West Saxony or Wessex was formed, and this establishment was followed in 587 by the kingdom of Mercia. Malmesbury was called Ingelburn by the Saxons, and was in Wessex. It

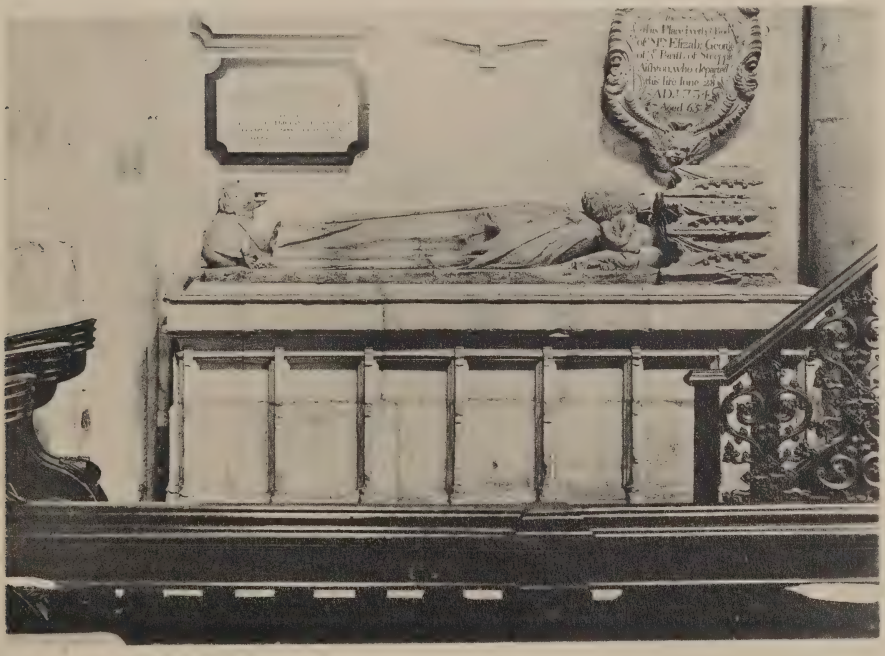
is said that there was a treaty to the effect that this town, so near the border, and being peculiarly liable to attack, should not be sacked in case of capture. Perhaps so; but it was a frontier post, and those were rough days with almost constant war, and those barbarous kingdoms were at strife much if not most of the time. Malmesbury did not escape its full share in the experiences of those more or less good old times. Whether Malmesbury is named from Malmud or from Maeldulph, a monk of the fifth century, historians dispute. To us it can not matter greatly. The whole aspect of the town is medieval.

The religious history of Malmesbury goes back to the fifth century, when a house of nuns was established at Burton Hill, later a seat of the Hanks family. A royal residence for Saxon kings was established here, also, and Henry VIII is believed to have been a guest in this ancient seat. The school developed; a monastery was founded by Maeldulph. He it was who took his harp to the river and played and sang and preached to passing pilgrims. It was his pupil, Aldhelm, who built the first church organ in England. That organ became famous. It was "a mighty instrument of innumerable tones, blown from bellows, and enclosed in a gilded case." Some centuries later, some of the Hankses were playing the successors of that organ. Within the memory of men now living one of the Hankses played the old organ in the abbey, and his body rests beneath its pavement, and has a tablet on one of the columns of the nave.

Aldhelm became abbot in 675 and held his office for thirty years. He may almost be said to have been the first educator in England. Before they taught Latin in Oxford or in Cambridge, Aldhelm established his system of education based on the Latin classics, and old Malmesbury was his educational center. His town should be a shrine for educators; for there the English system of education had its root.

The sciences had a home in Malmesbury. In the reign of Edward the Confessor, a monk named Elmore or Oliver, famed as a mathe-

Malmesbury Abbey and Old Bell Inn
Here lie many generations of Hankses



King Athelstan's Tomb, Malmesbury Abbey

matician, constructed the first heavier-than-air aeroplane. He flew from one of the monastery towers for a distance of an eighth of a mile. He broke both legs in his landing, and his invention was not further developed.

So learning flourished here, and music, and piety. And when the beautiful old Abbey was erected, about 1150, Malmesbury was one of the glorious towns of old England. Only a part of the nave of the Abbey now remains, but it is starred in Baedeker, and the recessed South Porch is one of the most beautiful in England, as we shall presently observe. But we must go back beyond the Abbey, for there is an interesting story to tell.

King Alfred the Great faced an invasion of the Danes, and was defeated in 872. At that time Malmesbury was captured and burned by the invaders. But Alfred came back at them, and defeated the Danes here in 878. The men of Malmesbury proved such good fighters that in gratitude to them and their town Alfred gave to the older Abbey rich endowments. But this was preliminary to another and more important royal association. King Athelstan had to defend his kingdom against another incursion of the Danes, and again the men of Malmesbury fought bravely and successfully. In 930 he gave to the town a charter, and when he died in Gloucester in 941 his body was brought back and buried in the Abbey. There is a cenotaph in the nave, erected in his honor. His actual dust is presumed to be under the floor, where it mingles with the dust of innumerable Hankses. The floor of the Abbey was taken up in the summer of 1927, and the visitor would then have had difficulty in not getting some of this same dust of kings and Hankses on his shoes.

This brings us to the Hanks family, who have been there since Athelstan's day and before. The original charter of Athelstan is not preserved, and the attempt to reconstruct it from citations in later documents leaves something to be desired. But it appears that two Hankses were named by King Athelstan, and that the name goes back at least a hundred years further, and probably more than that.

It was a curious and most interesting form of government and land tenure which Athlestan provided for Malmesbury. He divided the "common" land into two hundred eighty allotments of one and one-half or two acres each. But there were to be forty-eight "landholders" who received an extra acre each. These forty-eight were the "commoners." Next were the "four-and-twenties," being twenty-four assistant burgesses each with another extra acre. Then came the warden or alderman, with twelve "capital burgesses" who are extra to the commoners, and who receive ten to fifteen acres each, with freehold houses in and about the borough.

Now let us go down by the bridge where the good monk played his harp before there was a bridge, and we shall find what was once the Hospital of the Knights of St. John, a portion of it now an almshouse for the widows of burgesses, and part of it "the old court-house."

The widow of a burgess gets a single room free, if it is available, and either pays or receives a shilling a week, I think she receives it. One of them keeps the keys to the old court-house and once in a long time receives a tip for admitting visitors. In this curious old room, besides an odd seat for the defendant when court is held, is the hall of legislation and seat of government. A rail divides the "House of Commons" where the forty-eight sit from the "House of Lords." This inner portion of the room has a cockpit where the "four-and-twenties" sit, and on three sides, the sides of the walls, are thirteen seats, for the alderman and the twelve "capital burgesses." Not always have all the capital burgesses been able to write their names, but they are not without honor.

There is an old English ballad which my mother used to sing, and I quote it from memory, in parts:

> The mistletoe hung in the castle hall,
> The holly branch shone on the old oak wall;
> And the baron's retainers were blythe and gay,
> Keeping their Christmas holiday.

And the baron beheld with a father's pride
His beautiful child, young Lovell's bride;
And she with her bright eye seemed to be
The eye of that goodly company.

So the mirth of the marriage mingled with that of the Yuletide, and the mistletoe, alluring but ominous, hung above all.

"I'm weary of dancing now," she cried,
"Here tarry a moment; I'll hide, I'll hide!
And, Lovell, be sure thou'rt the first to trace
The way to my secret lurking-place."

So she hid, and they searched, gaily at first, then anxiously and then in terror.

They sought her that night,
And they sought her next day,
They sought her for weeks,
And a year rolled away.

Lovell grew haggard and old, and the baron mourned the loss of his daughter. After a long time they found her, a skeleton, hidden in an old oak chest. She had not been able to raise the heavy cover and had died there.

That happened in Malmesbury, and if you like you shall see the chest. It is the old muniment chest of the corporation, the chest in which they keep the burgess's rolls. There are three locks on the old chest, and there must be three capital burgesses present when it is opened. A pilgrim from America, coming with proper credentials, may secure the opening of the chest, and may have placed in his hands the famous "Burgess's rolls." They are nothing like so ancient as the time of Athelstan, and we can not prove from them whether the name of Hanks has been on the official papers of Malmesbury continuously since 850, as is confidently affirmed, but it is altogether likely.

Many Hankses have been commoners, four-and-twenties and

capital burgesses. Some Hankses have been aldermen. These are not high offices, but they are the highest official positions in Malmesbury. The Hankses have been, and are, a reputable people in the town where the name has been longest known.

The name Thomas Hanks occurs frequently. I was especially interested in this, for the first American male ancestor of Abraham Lincoln was Thomas Hanks, and I had some hope that I could find him. There was a Thomas Hanks in almost every generation of every branch of the Hanks family, and which Thomas it was who migrated to Virginia is another story. I traced the strong bold signature of one Thomas Hanks, alderman and burgess, on the burgess's roll. I did not find any Hanks name there signed with a cross, but I may not have seen all. Malmesbury knows that President Lincoln's mother sprang from that town. Indeed, I was informed very seriously, and by a man of repute, that Nancy Hanks was born there and migrated to Virginia in her youth, and there or in Kentucky married Thomas Lincoln. That is an error of a good many generations, but the Hanks family is one about which it is not easy to be wholly certain. The Massachusetts and Virginia branches are probably of the same English stock. But they spring from separate immigrants, the Massachusetts Hanks arriving in or about 1699 and the Virginia Hanks a half-century earlier.

We could not afford to miss the fine old Abbey, even if it were not starred in Baedeker or associated with the Hankses, for it is beautiful even in its mild decay. They are making extensive restorations, and it is to be hoped that they will effect a worthy duplication. We shall find many graves of Hankses in the churchyard, and some in the Abbey itself. We must inspect the records here, and find all the Hankses we can discover. The records go back to 1590, which is far enough for our purpose.

Let us look about the Abbey again. Back in the Puritan days, those pious gentlemen opposed the current habit of bear-baiting, not, it is alleged, because that pastime gave the bear pain, but because it gave the spectators pleasure. By 1703 they had a menagerie

in Malmesbury. Hannah Twinnon got too near the tiger's cage, on October twenty-third, and her tombstone reads:

In bloom of life
She's snatched from hence
She had not Room
For her defense;
For Tyger fierce
Took life away,
And here she lies
In bed of Clay
Until the Resurrection Day.

But long before 1703 the ancestresses of Nancy Hanks were in Virginia, and no Hanks girls were eaten by tigers so far as we know.

Entering the Abbey again by the arched porch, we find the three receding arches with sculptures of Bible history, two of the Old Testament and one of the New. The workmen courteously stand aside and permit us to walk among the scaffolding. The old records are produced and a table dusted for our inspection. Here are Hankses in the books, and Hankses on the walls, and Hankses under our feet.

And with us are two living Hankses, the last in Malmesbury. They are the two surviving daughters of William Hanks, who died in Malmesbury in 1905, aged seventy-five. These two ladies, intelligent correspondents, live lives that are bounded by the old Abbey, the early history of Malmesbury, the Women's Conservative Club, and the hope of Heaven. We pass with these two elderly women down the street and under the mirror, to the interesting old house where they live overlooking the Avon and its stepping stones. "Our father was an artist," they say. "He painted these pictures, which were well spoken of. For this one he was offered fifty pounds. His brother, our uncle, was a musician, and played the organ for many years in the Abbey. Our father was a Capital Burgess. You will have tea with us. This is the old Hanks china. We

have taken to using it every day. We should have used it in your honor any way, but we are the last Hankses who will ever handle these delicate old cups, and we have decided to get the good of them. The name of Hanks must disappear from Malmesbury, where it has been known and had its modest share of honor since 850. We do not quite like to think of its disappearance from the town where it is earliest of record, and where it has continued for more than a thousand years. It gratifies us to know that the name of Hanks abides in America, and that it has been made immortal in the lineage of your great President, Abraham Lincoln."

CHAPTER III

"One of Cromwell's Soldiers"

I was not the first American to visit Malmesbury in quest of material concerning the Hanks family. Those who were before me were representatives of the New England branch, and their research concerned itself with the line of Benjamin Hanks, who, with his wife, Abigail, sailed from England in 1699, and in due course arrived at Plymouth, Massachusetts, near which ancient town, already eighty years old, they established their home, and became progenitors of the Massachusetts family of Hanks. I did not visit Malmesbury until I had made it quite certain that the Virginia and Kentucky Hankses did not descend from Benjamin Hanks, but from Thomas Hanks, who was in Virginia, landed and established, by January, 1653, and who apparently had already been resident there for several years.

In Malmesbury I was able to secure copies of the results of the Benjamin Hanks investigation, and to go over the same ground and much more. So far as I can discover, the New England inquiry was well made, and its results appear to possess a great degree of probability. Neither those persons who made these earlier investigations nor I can claim a complete demonstration, but neither of us conflicts with the other. I have found nothing that either certifies or disproves the Benjamin Hanks investigation, and I judge that nothing more is likely to be found bearing in any important way upon it.

I, however, was seeking an earlier immigrant who I knew was certainly in Virginia before 1653. I had a conjecture which I hoped

to prove or disprove. Inasmuch as I had not been able to discover the actual year of Thomas Hank's arrival in Virginia, and knew that Elizabeth Hanks was there in 1635, I thought it possible that she might have been a widow with a half-grown son. I had a vision of a possible entry in the parish records of Malmesbury, in some year not far from 1620, in which Elizabeth Hank or Hanks and her husband presented for baptism a son Thomas, and then, of a record, not later than 1634, of the death of the said husband. If then the name of Elizabeth disappeared from the records in Malmesbury; if there were no record of her death or remarriage, I could justify myself in the opinion that Thomas Hanks, and his widowed mother, Elizabeth, came to Virginia in 1635; that she died or remarried, and that he grew to manhood, probably as an apprentice, and was free and able to buy land of his own by January, 1653. This conjecture was too good to be true. I did not find any of those things. And, while Thomas was a very common Hanks name, the period around 1620 was one of unusual unproductivity for infant Hankses of the name of Thomas in Malmesbury. The latter fact did not greatly matter, for Thomas Hanks of Virginia was certainly born, whether we could discover the place and date of birth or not, and there were many parishes near to Malmesbury where his birth might have occurred, some of them with no records in present preservation.

I made exhaustive search of the voluminous records of the three parishes of Malmesbury, the Abbey, Westport and St. Mary's, employing paid assistance to go to the very limit of possible productivity, and, having the cooperation of the Abbey officials, I personally searched the burgess's rolls and other historic documents. I found the name of Thomas Hanks very often, but not the Thomas I sought.

Meantime, I constantly encountered the tradition, both orally and in print, that "Thomas Hanks served with distinction as a soldier under Cromwell." The phrase "under Cromwell" was to be interpreted with some elasticity, for Cromwell did not in person fight at Malmesbury; the Parliamentary armies there were led by Sir Wil-

liam Waller, but that was not a matter to waste any time over. That the Hankses had a share in the Civil War, and that they were divided in their allegiance, was almost too certain to be asked about. Every civil war sets the hand of brother against brother. Even in the United States, where the strife was territorial, that was true; in England it was vastly more true, for, from every part of England there were sympathizers on both sides. "A soldier under Cromwell" meant a soldier on the side of Parliament against King Charles.

But when I inquired where and how Thomas Hanks won distinction, all that I could learn was, "It was in one of the three battles fought in or near Malmesbury, that he was captured and sent away." Such traditions may be exaggerated or distorted, but they are seldom made out of whole cloth. The story was altogether probable; the annoying thing was that, with all my inquiry, I could not learn just what Thomas Hanks did that distinguished him, except this, that he was taken prisoner, and disappeared in the war.

I came at length to accept this tradition tentatively and still hold to it, as incorporating an essential element of truth. And that tradition, accepted as such and as nothing more, has its rather important place in this chapter.

The civil wars of the seventeenth century were two or three in number, and one may read about them all in history; but the first of them, which dethroned and beheaded King Charles I, began with the break between Charles and Parliament in July, 1642, and brought its first battle at Edgehill, near Banbury, October twenty-third of that year. Charles I, having fled from London to York, was welcomed to Oxford, where he established his headquarters and his unsteady throne, and when he returned to London it was for trial and execution. His armies were disastrously defeated at Marston Moor, July 2, 1644, and Naseby, June 14, 1645. The Second Civil War broke out in 1648, and Charles was executed January 30, 1649.

Malmesbury's part in the Civil War, as far as it affects our present narrative, was mainly in 1642 and 1643. The little town, upon

its upstanding rock at the confluence of the two Avons, changed hands several times, and was the site of more than one battle. Its ultimate fate was determined also by battles fought in the near-by towns of Devizes and Cirencester.

While Oliver Cromwell was fighting around Bedford and York, Sir William Waller, "William the Conqueror" they called him, led the Parliamentary forces in Wiltshire. We are told by Clarendon that, in 1642—

> Sir William Waller, with a light party of horse and dragoons, near two thousand, from the Earl of Essex's army, had made a quick march through Wiltshire, (after his taking of Chichester) and taking, with little loss or trouble, a small garrison of the King's, at Malmesbury, before it was fortified.

The Honorable Hugh Clarendon has never been accused of impartiality, and it may be that the exploit of Waller was rather more of a victory than the account implies. But next year Malmesbury was taken, with not a few prisoners, by the King's forces. King Charles himself is alleged to have spent a night there, and the royal forces were long quartered in the town. It was an ill day for any Malmesbury man that had been fighting in the army of Parliament.

Clarendon expressed admiration for the military genius of Sir William Waller as "a right good chooser of advantages," but he says that at Devizes "Waller departed from an advantage he could not recover." He says Waller did this out of "pure gaiety," so confident was he of victory, but that he was routed, "a glorious day, a day of triumph for the King's affairs," with six hundred Puritans killed and nine hundred captured. This was in July, 1643, only a few miles from Malmesbury, and the Cromwellian troops were mainly recent recruits from the vicinage. What to do with the prisoners was a perplexing problem for Charles, who hardly knew what to do with himself. How the Puritan prisoners were insulted and abused is told in Hutchinson's *Memoirs*.[1] While the Puritans resisted and

[1] Vol. I, p. 274; quoted in Knight's *History of England,* IV, pp. 19-20.

were successful in larger battles, they were doomed to suffer another defeat at Cirencester, in the immediate vicinity of Malmesbury, in September, 1643, being overtaken and attacked in the rear in a narrow valley, and losing several hundred prisoners.

These battles went against the Parliamentary army, and the prisoners taken were marched to Oxford. We have a description of that march, or at least of the arrival of the prisoners in Oxford. They came in, faint and cold, thinly clad in the raw wind, their gaping wounds undressed. Charles and his two princes rode a mile out of Oxford to see them enter the town. It was a pitiful sight, and some of those who were near looked at Charles as he sat on his horse, to discover if he manifested any mark of pity. They could not find any such sentiment visibly displayed on his countenance, "but the King was observed to smile." Cromwell might not have smiled, but neither would he have pitied. He would have believed that what he did was the righteous judgment of God.

What did they do with Civil War prisoners? Largely they shipped them to Virginia. Cromwell himself practised that method of disposing of his prisoners, as we shall learn. It is more than possible that Mr. Oliver Cromwell had something to do with providing Abraham Lincoln with a maternal ancestor, by tempting Thomas Hanks to take up arms against King Charles.

Having exhausted the records at Malmesbury, I turned to Devizes, where the Wiltshire Archeological Society, through its Honorary Secretary, Honorable B. Howard Cunningham, F. S. A., rendered me all possible assistance, but we could find no individual names of prisoners except of commanders who on one side or the other held the place from time to time. The British Museum added little to my knowledge. One vast mine of possible information remained, the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane, London. To secure admission there, one must be presented through his Ambassador, who introduces the inquirer through the Foreign Office, a procedure requiring about a week; but the Ambassador also gives a letter of introduction to the Secretary of the Record Office, stat-

ing that he has requested the Foreign Office to make the formal application of the Record Office, and requesting that, pending receipt of the document, the inquirer be permitted to use the records. Ambassador Houghton expressed great interest in my search, and gave me every possible assistance, and my welcome at the Record Office was all that I could have asked. Not only was I permitted personally to examine the records, but I was assisted in securing a secretary, familiar with the records and known to its officials, who helped me while I was there and continued my search afterward as long as there appeared to be anything left to search for.

What I hoped was that I might find an actual mention of the name of Thomas Hanks among deported prisoners, or, failing this, that I might find lists that seemed sufficiently complete so that the absence of his name would indicate conclusively that my theory was wrong.

The farther I searched, the more certain it appeared that nothing short of a miracle could have preserved the name of Thomas Hanks as a deported prisoner. I did not find his name, nor the name of any other prisoner from the ranks, deported by Charles in the Civil War. And yet, there were thousands of such prisoners.

I was encouraged for a time by the fact that I found names of deported prisoners in the time of Monmouth's rebellion. They are in Hotten's Lists. But the conditions were very different. Monmouth's men were tried in the civil courts at the end of the rebellion. Chief-Justice Jeffries sat on the bench in his "bloody circuit" and sent three hundred and fifty "Rebells" to the gallows, and more than eight hundred were sold into slavery beyond the sea. James II wreaked a terrible vengeance, but it was through the form of court procedure. Thousands of the accused were whipped and imprisoned. The Queen, and even Judge Jeffries made shameless sale of pardons. The eight hundred and more "convicted Rebells" who "by the King's mercy" were deported, were sold to ships' captains who resold their prisoners for periods, usually of seven years, to planters in Virginia or Barbadoes.

We have record of these deportations, in lots of forty or fifty each, because the "Rebells" were thus tried and convicted. But neither Charles nor Cromwell needed any such procedure. On both sides there were large bodies of prisoners of war, captured under arms. They were expensive to feed, and they were liable to rescue or escape. The sooner they were aboard ship, headed for the Colonies where their labor was in demand, where they not only occasioned no expense but by the sale of their indenture could yield revenue, the better for the captors.

A further fact became plain as one examined the records of the Civil War. Charles I not only had no especial reason for preserving records of his prisoners who were safe beyond the sea, but he had no facilities. He was insecurely maintaining a pretense of government at Oxford, or was seeking refuge among the Scotch. If he had any records of transported prisoners he could hardly have preserved them. And if he had done so, those records would have been waste paper to Cromwell, who did not preserve, so far as I could find, any permanent records of his own deportations.

We have from Cromwell's own pen what every historian acknowledges as the most unfavorable account of his own doings, and this with regard to this very matter of his treatment of prisoners. When he entered upon his Irish campaign, he was determined to succeed, and he wanted to succeed with as little loss of life to his own soldiers as possible. His first two battles were the sieges of Drogheda and Wexford. To both these fortresses he offered most liberal terms if they would surrender without a fight, promising them that they should march out with the honors of war, and with protection of life and property within those cities. He would have kept his promise. But both fortresses were captured after bloody fights, and Cromwell did the bloodiest work of his life at these two towns.

Such records as are found of prisoners taken by the armies of King Charles I are far less abundant than those of Cromwell, but even Cromwell's lists seldom name officers lower than colonels. Here, for instance, is a report made to Sir William Waller:

April 17, 1644

The Committee of both kingdoms

To Sir William Waller:

We have received intelligence from Lord Fairfax of that good success that God has been pleased to give him and his son with their joined forces against the town of Selby, which upon the 11th inst. they stormed in these several places at once, and after two hours took it. The prisoners & ammunition there taken are contained in the list underwritten; the names of the officers we have forborne to transcribe for brevity, but would not omit to give you this notice of it that God may have the praise.

The List;

Col. Sir John Bellassis	26 Lieutenants
Col. Sir John Ramsden	6 Cornets
Sir. Thos. Strickland	11 Ensigns
2 Lieut.Colonels	9 Quartermasters
4 Majors	1600 common soldiers
5 Horse Captains	500 horse and more
12 Foot Captains	(and much ammunition).

The Journals of the House of Lords and the House of Commons in 1643 and 1644 contain a considerable number of entries concerning prisoners "who might be dangerous to the Peace of the City" and who were ordered removed, and the appointment of Committees "to consider the most convenient way of disposing of such prisoners as are taken by the Army, and are burdensome to the State, either by sending them to the Indies, or otherwise."

Somewhat later, Sir Henry Vane and others were given power to dispose of prisoners, under the degree of field officer; but no lists of the prisoners so distributed are preserved.

This chapter was begun without any conscious presuppositions. If I had found that the Virginia Hankses were descended from those of Massachusetts, I should have been willing to learn and to state that fact. If I had found that the Virginia Hankses came from some other place than Malmesbury, that fact would have served my purpose equally as well as the conclusion which I have adopted. If I

had found that Thomas Hanks was a vagrant or a criminal, I should have been sorry, but I would have recorded it just as I learned it. But as the labor of investigation continued, it appeared to be more and more probable that the Thomas Hanks whom I had found in Virginia in 1653 had come from the vicinity of the old Hanks home in Malmesbury, and that the Civil War was the occasion of his transportation. Even though I could not discover a Thomas Hanks of military age in Malmesbury at the outbreak of that war, I found myself driven to the practical conclusion that there must have been such a man there, and that he was the same man whom I had found in Virginia. I wanted something better than a tradition to link the two together, but could not discover it. Neither could I discover any reason for such a tradition unless there had been such a man. I was therefore writing this chapter, and had indeed written its first draft, saying that while I had not discovered an actual Thomas Hanks of record in Malmesbury at the particular time indicated, I was satisfied that the tradition was essentially correct. I had not found a Thomas Hanks emerging from any other place who could have been the man, and certainly Thomas Hanks, of Virginia, came from somewhere. The Hankses were not a widely distributed family in England in 1642, and the counties where they mainly lived showed no other man with whom to confuse the search.

So, after prolonged search, I reached what amounted to a conclusion, that the Thomas Hanks who disappeared from Malmesbury in the early portion of the Civil War, and the Thomas Hanks whom I found in Virginia nine or ten years later, the only men of that name whom I have been able to discover, were one and the same man. But I was baffled by the fact that I could not find some record of this man resident in Malmesbury at a date immediately prior to the battles of 1643.

My assistants both at Malmesbury and in London had written that they had reached the end of their search, and I had paid them for their labor. My assistant in London, sending me her receipt, inclosed the following significant letter:

Public Record Office
Chancery Lane, London,
22 May, 1928

Dear Sir:

I am obliged to you for your checque and enclose receipt. The enclosed note may possibly interest you, as it proves that Thomas Hanks was living near Malmesbury and paying his taxes in 1642.

Yours faithfully,

ETHEL C. GROGAN

Indeed it did interest me! If there could be one particular year in the whole Christian era in which I wanted to find a Thomas Hanks in Malmesbury, it was in that year, just before the Civil War invaded Wiltshire, and fought three battles in that county that were unfavorable to the Cromwellian forces, and which resulted in the marching of captives to Oxford where Charles beheld them with unpitying interest. And this is the record:

SUBSIDY ROLL 18 CHAS. I., 1642

Assessment for levying of Money for the Necessary Defense and Great Affairs of the Kingdom—

For the Hundred of Malmesbury, in the County of Wilts:

Nr. 6:4

At Brokenborrow	Paid	
Thomas Hanckes	vj	d

No further search has disclosed him there or elsewhere in England at any later date. Thomas Hanks was in Malmesbury when the Civil War broke out; he left behind him a tradition that he distinguished himself as a soldier under Cromwell; he disappeared from Malmesbury and is presumed to have been among the captured soldiers of 1643. This is probably all that we shall learn about him on that side of the water, and apparently it is enough.

And now, supposing this tradition to be essentially correct, and that Thomas Hanks, a soldier under Cromwell, was of those who were marched, freezing and bleeding, from Cirencester to Oxford,

with Charles sitting on his horse and smiling grimly as they passed, and that Thomas Hanks and his companions were disposed of in the usual and convenient way by shipment to Virginia about 1644, what next might we expect to find of record concerning Thomas Hanks?

Nothing, certainly, during the seven years of his indenture, nor for two or three years afterward. But if he lived to complete his period of servitude, and then, being strong and resolute and ambitious, worked for wages for a year or two years, we might expect that somewhere about 1653 he would be making his first purchase of land, probably a small one, and we should expect to find a record of that purchase, with a description of the land, and the place of his location.

And this is exactly what we do find.

CHAPTER IV

"Prisoners of Hope"

Deportation is a system of punishment for crime, civil or political, of which the essential factor is the removal of the criminal from his own country. It has been practised by many nations both ancient and modern. The exile of the Jews in Babylon in the sixth century B.C. is a familiar example of the attempt of a conquering nation to hold its conquests in security by removing from their native soil the national leaders in politics, religion and industry. The purpose is not mainly to inflict discomfort, but to promote national security by making further rebellion inconvenient. In American history we know something of this method of dealing with a stubbornly patriotic community in the deportation of the Acadians, as commemorated in Longfellow's *Evangeline.* Russia, beginning in 1823, deported to Siberia offenders chiefly political. The system lasted almost a century, and the annual average of deportations at one time was about eighteen thousand. Italy and Portugal have employed the same system.

Deportation is to be distinguished from mere expulsion. The latter merely compelled the offender to take himself out of the country in which he was convicted. He was compelled to pay his own way, and to provide for himself as best he could, but he was free to go where he liked outside the boundaries of the state whose laws he was convicted of having violated. But the deported prisoner was still a prisoner, to be confined or restrained in such form and manner as might be judged expedient. The country deporting him had to pay the cost of his deportation, and was to a degree responsible for him during the period of his sentence.

In England the deportation of criminals grew out of the severity of the penal code. When Sir Samuel Romilly (1757-1818) began his monumental reform, there were some two hundred capital offenses under the laws of England. The inhumanity of hanging the sheep-thief and the pickpocket along with the murderer and the traitor had led to the employment of various forms of mitigation or respite, of which the most popular was deportation. The Vagrancy Act of Queen Elizabeth's reign gave to judges the authority to banish criminals or vagrants. In 1619, James I directed "a hundred dissolute persons" to be transported to Virginia. Charles I continued the practise; prisoners legally liable to death were "by the King's mercy" deported. In the reign of Charles II offenders who had barely escaped the death penalty were authorized to be handed over to contractors for a period of years, usually seven, but not infrequently fourteen.

It was this period of servitude that produced the characteristic results of Virginia's system. The government wanted to secure the passage of these prisoners without cost, if possible, and to be officially free from further responsibility for guarding and feeding them. The right to service was therefore sold to ship-captains or other contractors. That the captains of ships should have been the chief traffickers in this convict labor was very natural. They possessed the means of transportation, and personally accompanied their human cargo across. They met immediately on arrival the planters to whom it was easy to dispose of the laborers. The planters visited the ships in order to secure the goods they had ordered, or often for the single purpose of hiring laborers. The planters paid for their laborers in tobacco, which was what the captains wanted as cargo for the return voyage.

Labor thus obtained became very valuable. The work of clearing the forests was one of the most laborious known to man. Not only were prisoners eagerly purchased for the period of their servitude, but when there was a shortage of these, there were vagrants and other persons who willingly sold their service for the sake of the

opportunities in the new country, and there were young lads kidnaped and shipped. Blameless they were before the law, but powerless to invoke its protection.

Something of the lot of these people, as their story built up the traditions of Newgate, Defoe told in his *Moll Flanders,* and Mary Johnston has told it anew in *To Have and to Hold* and *Prisoners of Hope.* Most of the story, however, can never be told.

The main object of deportation was to provide a method of penal discipline. England was not unaware of the inhumanity which often accompanied the system. In 1778 a commission composed of three eminent men, Sir William Blackstone, Lord Auckland and John Howard, sought to remedy some of its abuses. They did accomplish a reform of some significance. The hope they expressed was:

> By sobriety, cleanliness and medical assistance, by a regular system of labor, by solitary confinement during the intervals of work, and by religious instruction, to preserve and amend the health of the unhappy offenders, to innure them to habits of industry, to guard them from pernicious company, to accustom them to serious reflection, and to teach them both the principles and practice of every Christian and moral duty.

This was a most worthy aim, and it was never wholly lost sight of. But Thomas Hanks arrived in Virginia more than a hundred years before this provision was made. Moreover, Virginia was a long way from England, and when a deported criminal was well beyond the borders of Great Britain, she had accomplished her first object in having got rid of him, and the planter who paid certain bales or casks of tobacco for seven years of his service, running the risk of his escape, incapacity or death, was primarily interested in getting his money back, and a good margin of profit. The condition of indentured servants varied widely, according to the character of the master; we have abundance of court records to show what happened. But it was not a pleasant situation.

This brings me to the other topic which may also be new to some

of those who read this chapter, that of headrights. In early Virginia everything was cheap except labor. Virginia needed more inhabitants. For this reason a reward was arranged to be paid to any one who would bring into the colony an inhabitant, man, woman, or half-grown child. The reward was a certificate entitling the holder to fifty acres of land. *This land was not intended to be given to the immigrant.*[1] If a man paid his own way over, he got a friend to file his certificate, and to assign the land to him. If he was an indentured servant, the certificate went to his master or to the captain of the ship. The captain thus had two articles of value to sell with each servant: first, the service of the man or woman; and, secondly, the right to file a requisition for fifty acres of land.

On June 10, 1654, Mr. Thomas Fowke, merchant of Westmoreland County, entered and received patent to thirteen hundred and fifty acres of land for transporting twenty-seven persons into Virginia, one of them being Thomas Hanks. When I discovered this record, I had no doubt of its implication. Thomas Hanks, I was sure, was imported by Thomas Fowke, and so I stated in my *Life of Abraham Lincoln.* Greatly to my surprise I later learned that Thomas Hanks was himself buying land on similar headright certificates issued in the name of other immigrants, more than a year before Thomas Fowke entered his large tract. The explanation is, as I suppose, that for some time, certainly more than one year, and probably seven or eight years, the Thomas Hanks certificate had passed from hand to hand as script, and that Thomas Fowke, to whom this certificate finally was assigned, saved up his headright certificates until he had enough of them to entitle him to patent a large area. That is the way it was done.

With this somewhat extended but important discussion by way of introduction, we are ready to proceed with what is actually of record concerning the Hanks family in the United States.

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[1] I emphasize this fact because I find that other authors besides myself have been in error on this subject. A recent and in the main meritorious history of the ancestry of Robert E. Lee is a case in point.

CHAPTER V

Thomas Hanks of Virginia

In the records of early Virginia, the name Hank, Hancks, Hankes or Hanks is found referring to four individuals.

I. Elizabeth Hank, 1635. Bridges Freeman received a patent of eight hundred acres of land on the Chickahominy River for transportation of sixteen persons, one of them named Elizabeth Hank. This was in the eleventh year of Charles I, 1635.[1] Of her we have no further record. Whether maid or widow, if she lived she probably married. If she was a widow, she may have been the mother of one of the three men presently to be named. But as no one of their names appears in connection with hers, it is not likely she accompanied any of them. Their names appear from eighteen to twenty-six years after hers, and no connection is indicated in any knowledge that we have.

II. Robert Hanks, 1661. A certificate was granted to Ship-Captain Fran Emperour, August 15, 1661, for two hundred and fifty acres of land in Lower Norfolk County for the importation of five persons, one of them being Robert Hanks. He disappears immediately from the records, and we have no further knowledge of him. Apparently he did not acquire land of his own.

III. Enoch Hanks, 1653. In the records of Lancaster County is a judgment dated September 6, 1653, against Enoch Hanks, who

[1] *Virginia Historical Magazine,* IV, p. 424.

was adjudged indebted to William Clapham in the sum of nine hundred and thirty pounds of tobacco and casks, and he was ordered to pay the same within twenty days.[1] Whether he paid it or ran away we do not know. Apparently he was landless, thriftless and unstable, as were many others in Virginia at that time. We find no further trace of him, nor any indication of his relationship, if any, to the other men of the same family name.[2]

IV. THOMAS HANKS, 1653. Of whom there is more to be said.

Having exhausted all available means of further knowledge of three persons named Hanks, Elizabeth, Enoch and Robert, whose names appear for a single time each in early Virginia records, and then disappear without any indication of land holdings or family relationships, we have left one name of importance, the probable founder of the Hanks family in Virginia, and the earliest known Hanks to secure a foothold on American soil, Thomas Hanks.

By the beginning of 1653, Thomas Hanks had been in Virginia long enough to work out his period of servitude and to obtain money or tobacco enough to buy land. His land was in Gloucester County, a new county formed from Northumberland and York in 1651. This land was shunted back and forth into other counties. Old Rappahannock County was formed from Lancaster in 1653, and in 1692 Richmond County, formed from Old Rappahannock, was on the north side of the Rappahannock River, and Essex County on the opposite bank for a time included the home of Thomas Hanks. We therefore have to search for records in Lancaster, Rich-

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[1] The mortality among English immigrants to Virginia, especially among indentured servants, was almost incredibly great. It was due to the marked extremes in climate, from bitter cold of winter to sweltering heat of summer, to malaria, to exposure, to fevers of many kinds, to excessive use of alcoholic drink, to homesickness, to improper food and to Indian attacks. It is thought that in some periods at least three-fourths of the indentured servants died within the space of three years. Professor Bruce has interesting information on this subject in his *Social Life in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century.*

[2] Order Book I, p. 80.

mond, Essex, Middlesex, Old Rappahannock and Gloucester Counties, as well as in New Kent and King and Queen, for the Hanks lands were at one time or another in each of them. And we must search the land records in the Capitol building in Richmond, the vast collection of manuscripts in the State Archives, and the collections in the Virginia Historical Society. All of which, and much more, we have done, and that as thoroughly as appears profitable.

On February 16, 1653, Thomas Hancks entered one hundred acres of land, and filed certificates for the transportation of two people, Joane Litefoot and John Range. Whether these were servants whose labor and headrights he had acquired together, or whether he bought the headrights separately, we do not know. One side of this land was bounded by a stream called, in the patent, "Hanckes Branch" which would appear to indicate that he had already been for some time resident in the locality.

In that year the first known list of "Tithables" of Lancaster County was made up; it is incomplete, but on February 6, 1654, is another one, and in it appears the name of "Mr. Hanks." Lancaster as then organized was on both sides of the Rappahannock and included the Hanks land as above described. The title "Mr." was then a mark of respectability.

On September 27, 1653, Thomas Hanks was witness to the will of Robert Mascall, and by that will inherited "one young sow, marked on both ears with the Swallow forke." The gift of a young sow was probably something more than a neighborly courtesy, as young swine were then highly desirable.

A more important item is of record as of February 10, 1654. There lived in what was then Lancaster County, but on the south side of the Rappahannock, Abraham Moone, whose land holdings aggregated ten thousand, five hundred acres. The greater part of his land had been bought between 1651 and 1653, but Moone was still purchasing land in 1654. Apparently he was elderly and in poor health, for he leased for three years to Thomas Hanks "the plantation whereon I now live," containing three hundred acres,

with his house, and four servants and one mare, reserving for himself and wife one servant and a room in the house. And as one of the servants had nearly served his time, Moone agreed to furnish another servant when the time of that one had expired. For this he acknowledged receipt of sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco in cask.

This was a very considerable transaction. Not many planters had on hand sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco to pay in advance for the three years' lease of an improved plantation.

Thomas Moone did not live long after this lease was made. Early in 1655 his will was presented for probate, and was recorded February twentieth, a year and ten days after making the lease. And here appears an instance of an interesting custom, which we shall encounter again in the records of the Hanks family. In none of the Colonies did a widow remain long unmarried. The conditions of pioneer life were very unfavorable to a woman's living alone, and there were more men than women. But there was one other consideration. A woman might not hold property in her own right. There was an advantage in her finding a second husband soon, having him appointed administrator of the estate, thus entitling him to file his claim against the estate in right of her interest. This is what John Curtis did, as second husband of Anne, the widow of Abraham Moone.[1]

Abraham Moone left a large estate. His personal property included four servants, one of them a maid, one mare, eight cows, one bull, and a very large list of furniture and tools, and the whole

[1] One of the noted instances of swift remarriage, or the lack of it, was that of the widow of a certain Mr. Jordan. He died in 1623. Rev. Gilbert Pooley, three or four days after Mr. Jordan's death, prevailed upon Captain Isaac Madison to visit the widow and propose to her that she marry the minister. She sent back word that she would as soon marry Mr. Pooley as any one, but thought it rather soon, and invited him to do his own wooing. This he did, and his acceptance was with a kiss, but also with a promise on his part not to tell about it for a few days. But the clergyman was so happy about his engagement he told of it, and she was so angry she broke the engagement. The affair was much discussed, and has its place in the British Colonial Papers, 1622-3, No. 30. See also Bruce's *Social Life in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century,* pp. 230-231.

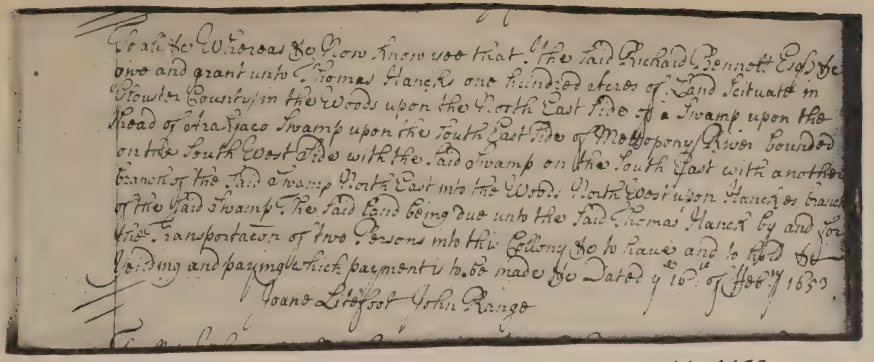
was appraised at fifteen thousand, two hundred twenty-two pounds of tobacco. The value of this fact for us is that this total was a little less than Thomas Hanks had been able to pay for the rent of the Moone plantation.

As we have already seen, Thomas Hanks patented one hundred acres on February 16, 1653, and rented three hundred acres in 1654. Whether he bought this second tract at the expiration of his lease, we do not know. But ten years after his first patent, he began widening his boundaries by large patents, six of them from 1663 to 1674, until he had become a large proprietor.

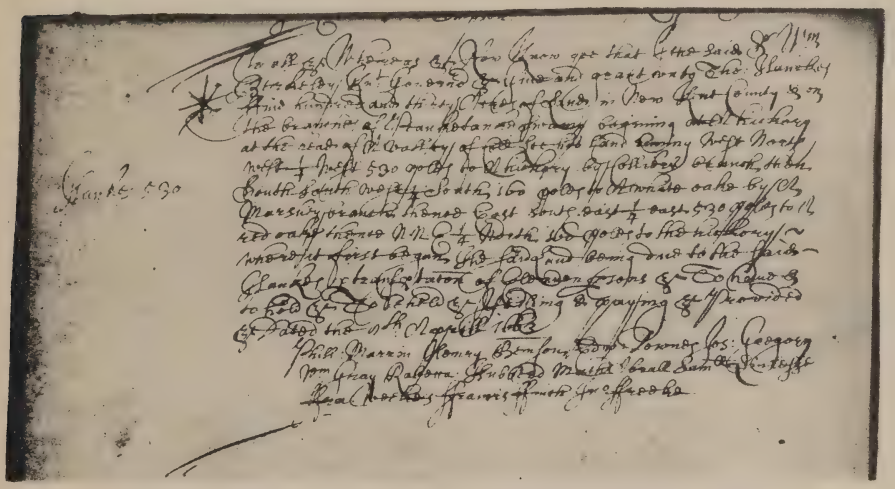
On April 8, 1663, Thomas Hanks patented five hundred twenty-seven more acres; and by a second patent on the same day he secured five hundred and thirty acres additional. On October 8, 1667, he added three hundred acres; on October 23, 1673, two hundred sixty-four acres; on the same date by a second patent, five hundred more acres, and on April 8, 1674, two hundred sixty acres. Here are seven purchases, and the land is nearly if not all continuous. The last purchase runs by "the said Hancks his other land whereon he now liveth."

An effort to determine somewhat nearly the location of the Thomas Hanks home in Virginia becomes difficult not only because of the shifting of county lines, but also because of the changes in names of streams, the disappearance of the "swamps" so frequently used in descriptions, and the lack of corners that can now be identified. But we have some data which is permanent.

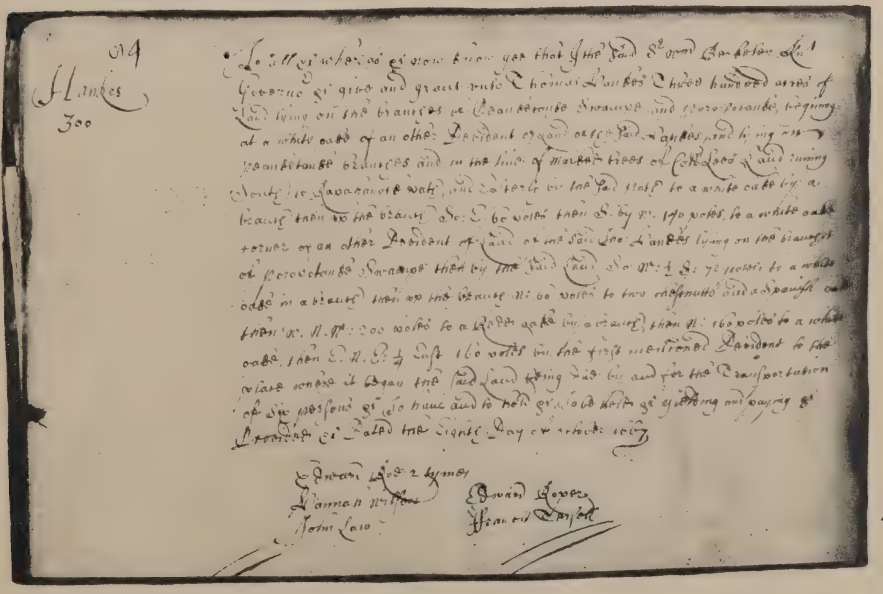
Thomas Hanks' first land purchase, February 16, 1653, was bounded on one side by Hancks' Creek, which I am not able to identify, but which apparently flowed southerly into the Mattapony River. The Mattapony is referred to, and the land ceded lay, apparently not upon its bank, but "upon the southeastern side of the Mattapony River." The Mattapony and the Pamunkey Rivers join at West Point to form the York. The Hanks land was therefore above West Point and it was not between the Pamunkey and the Mattapony. But it can not have been very far above West Point, for



The first land patent of Thomas Hanks, February 16, 1653



Thomas Hanks's patent for five hundred and thirty acres adjoining land of Colonel Lee.



Thomas Hanks patent for three hundred acres adjoining land of Colonel Lee

Photos from Virginia Land Office Richmond

a contiguous tract ceded to Thomas Hanks April 8, 1663, was "on the head of branch of the Portopotank swamp, beginning at a white oak in a branch, being a line of said Hanks."

The Portopotank flows southwesterly into York River, below West Point, and divides the present county of Gloucester from that of King and Queen. The swamp of the same name was presumably the marshy wooded region including the headwaters of the Portopotank as they then were. The Hanks land does not appear to have extended easterly or southerly to the Portopotank River; it lay northwesterly of the little river, and so in King and Queen. But the other purchase of April 8, 1663, lay on the branches of the Pianketank swamp. Most of this land was south of the Pianketank, but his final purchase adjoined his previous tracts, including that on which he then lived, and extended with his leased land from the Pianketank to the Rappahannock. A frontage on the latter river gave him shipping facilities. He could load his tobacco for England from his own land.

We have, then, these lines. The Hanks land lay mainly south of the Pianketank, but extended beyond it northward to the Rappahannock. It lay not very far above the present West Point, north of the Mattapony and west of the Portopotank. It therefore extended across Essex or Middlesex County, and reached the Rappahannock at a point not very far from the line between Richmond and Lancaster Counties.

At the time of the residence of Thomas Hanks in Gloucester, that county was the most populous, most aristocratic and most loyal to the King of any county in Virginia. His later land purchases describe his boundaries as running with those of certain neighbors who are named in his patents. We know some of these neighbors. One family we shall have occasion to mention later. It is easily possible that one reason for the obscurity of the Hanks family was its Puritan origin, and the home of its first American representative in the very heart of an extremely royalist community. The presence of a transported prisoner in such a neighborhood, and the gradual

extension of his holdings, could not well be objected to, but his background may have been a reason why the family did not become prominent.

Our knowledge of Thomas Hanks in Virginia is mainly that of his land purchases. These certify that for a full generation he was living between the James and the Rappahannock, building up by steady purchase and some rental a large estate. We should greatly like to know what became of him and his land. We do not know, and I fear we shall never know. But we know something about the history of those times in Virginia.

In 1649 the population of Virginia was fifteen thousand, of whom about three hundred only were negro slaves. In 1670 there were thirty-eight thousand inhabitants. The population had more than doubled in twenty years. Some of those who came were political prisoners, but more were loyalists fleeing from the condition imposed upon them by the administration of Cromwell. These Cavaliers were the men who made Virginia great. A majority of residents of Virginia before the English Civil War were loyal to the Crown and the Church of England, but not a few were resentful of the misgovernment of Charles I. However, the Colony as a whole welcomed the restoration of Charles II, but had bitter reason to protest against his royal Governor, William Berkeley, whose rule was corrupt, oppressive and tyrannical.

In 1675 an Indian uprising occurred, and Berkeley gave the Colony no protection. Then rose Nathaniel Bacon, who, without legal authority, raised troops and defeated the Indians, and then had to fight the Governor. Bacon succeeded, but a reaction set in, and he was taken sick and died, not far from the home of Thomas Hanks, October 1, 1676. On his death the rebellion, so called, collapsed. Berkeley wrought his terrible revenge. "As I live," said Charles II, "the old fool hath put to death more people in that naked country than I did here for the murder of my father." Berkeley was summoned to London, and his departure from Virginia, April 27, 1677, was celebrated with bonfires. He hoped for an

audience with the king but this was deferred, and he fell sick, in part at least through chagrin and vexation, and died in July.

Bacon's Rebellion was the first ominous tragedy in the history of the American Colonies. Indian wars were an almost inevitable part of the picture, but a war like this, added to an Indian war, was horrible, and it left a sad wake of uncertainty and suspicion.

The section in which Thomas Hanks resided was scourged by the Indian War. In seventeen days, sixty plantations not many miles from his were ravaged and burned, and many settlers were slain. Not only so, but that section was also one of the storm centers of rebellion. We do not know how Thomas Hanks and his family were affected by these two upheavals, but it is impossible to imagine that these wars of 1675 and 1676 had no effect upon them.

What we know is, that with the Indian uprising and Bacon's Rebellion, the name of Thomas Hanks disappears. Perhaps he lost his life in the Indian massacre. Perhaps he took arms either for or against Bacon and was killed. Perhaps he was by this time an old man and died of exposure incident to the hardships of the time. We do not know. His last known land purchase was made April 8, 1674, less than two years before the Indian war devastated his neighborhood. We can hardly imagine that his plantation escaped. Nor, if he died in those troublous and anxious days, would it be strange that no record is found of his death. We ought, indeed, to know what became of his lands, but a series of court-house fires and the vicissitudes of the Civil War leave no records in Gloucester, King and Queen, New Kent and adjacent counties prior to 1865. For nearly five years, including the Indian uprising and the period of disorder connected with Bacon's Rebellion, the name of Hanks disappears from the records. When we meet it again, it is just across the Rappahannock from where Thomas Hanks established it.

The generation of Thomas Hanks in Gloucester went out in the blood and smoke of Bacon's Rebellion. At its close there was a heavy exodus of Gloucester residents to the other side of the Rap-

pahannock. As the name of Thomas Hanks disappears, the name of William Hanks, young and newly married, appears, just across the river.

Perhaps the first Will Book of Richmond County would have helped us, but a commission reported that book to be in need of binding in 1794. It contained the wills prior to 1699. There is no record of the book at any later date. Thomas Hanks was alive and buying land in 1674; William Hanks was married and had a son and was living across the river early in 1679. Apparently William Hanks was the only surviving son of Thomas Hanks. He was not an immigrant and he was not a new resident in the Rappahannock region.

CHAPTER VI

The Hankses of Richmond County

Richmond County, Virginia, is not the county of which the city of Richmond is capital. It is a rural county, situated on the north shore of the Rappahannock, and its only town and county-seat, Warsaw, has only about four hundred inhabitants. It was formerly a part of Lancaster, the county next adjacent lower down the river, and it was at one time a part of Old Rappahannock County, which is quite another county than the present shire of that name. In Richmond County the Hanks ancestors of Abraham Lincoln lived for four generations, and members of the family still are resident there. We are able to trace their relationship in direct line from the first Hanks who lived in that country, William Hanks, Sr., the carpenter. He was resident there before 1679, and that part of the Hanks family in which we are mainly interested removed from there more than a hundred years later. The Hanks family was clannish in England and at first not very migratory in America.

To William Hanks, carpenter, and his wife, Sarah, both of North Farnham Parish, Richmond County, Virginia, was born, February 7, 1679, a son. This son was presented for baptism in the North Farnham Church, just one week later, February 14, 1679. It is to be presumed that William and Sarah had been married not later than May, 1678, and that William was of age when he married. If so, he probably was born somewhere about 1655, when Thomas Hanks, well established and buying and hiring land was prospering on his plantation on the Pianketank. The wife of William Hanks was Sarah, and we are confident her surname was

Woodbridge. On February 7, 1689, the day when little William Hanks was ten years old, Paul Woodbridge, Gent., of North Farnham Parish, in consideration of four thousand pounds of tobacco, sold to William Hanks, carpenter, one hundred acres of his own domain located on Indian Town Branch. On September 2, 1691, William Woodbridge, son of Paul Woodbridge, deceased, came into court with this deed, and asked for its recording, as his father, Paul Woodbridge, Gent., had died before it was recorded and the same was done.[1]

William Woodbridge and his brother, George, had their inheritance in land that had previously belonged to their father, Paul Woodbridge. That land, also, was located on the Indian Town Branch. Apparently, Sarah, by her marriage, did not remove from the plantation on which she had been born. She may be presumed to have been the reason for William Hanks's removal from the other side of the Rappahannock.

On May 4, 1695, the same William Hanks, carpenter, and Sarah, his wife, received by deed from William Woodbridge, one hundred acres of land in Richmond County, the said land being situated on Dumb Man's Branch, otherwise known as the Indian Town Branch. The fact that Sarah's name appears in this deed would appear to indicate that this second tract of land, immediately adjoining the first, was a part of the family distribution of the large estate of the father, Paul Woodbridge, Gent.

William and Sarah Hanks continued to buy land in Richmond County. On October 27, 1699, they bought a parcel from John Powell and wife. February 20, 1703, they bought land from Edward Jeffrey. On March 11, 1703-4, they sold a tract of land to Michael Conole.

To William and Sarah Hanks two other sons were born, Luke and John, but they do not appear to have been baptized in North Farnham Parish. We do not know why this matter of baptism was

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[1] Records of Old Rappahannock County in Virginia State Library, Richmond, Book 9, p. 255.

neglected, as William and Sarah are shown quite certainly to have continued living there. Perhaps these younger sons were baptized in some other parish; perhaps they were not baptized at all, though this is hardly probable, as it was illegal to omit the baptism of a child.

William Hanks appears once in the Order Book of the Old Rappahannock Court. That county was formed in 1656, and included North Farnham Parish on the north side of the Rappahannock and South Farnham Parish on the south side. It became extinct in 1692 when the territory that had belonged to it was divided and the northern part became Richmond County and the southern part the county of Essex. On October 6, 1687, William Hanks sued John Rice and obtained a verdict against him for four hundred pounds of tobacco.[1]

William Hanks, Sr., died before February 7, 1704-5. His widow promptly remarried. In my *Life of Abraham Lincoln* I stated that she was, at the time of her marriage to William Hanks, the widow of a man named White, by whom she had had a son Richard. This was a very natural deduction from the discovery that the estate of William Hanks was divided into four equal parts, one part going to Richard White. What could this mean but that her first husband had died leaving her money which William Hanks had invested, and to which her son by the previous marriage had a claim? It did not mean anything of the kind. It meant that Sarah Hanks remarried within a very few months after the death of her first husband, according to a very general custom, and that Richard White represented in the division of the estate the interest which by marriage he acquired to the portion belonging to "Sarah, his wife, widow and relict of William Hanks, deceased." The estate, which was a large one, included two indentured servants, both white, a man and a maid.

The main part of the estate appears to have been divided equitably, but there was a dispute about the division of some "hoggs,"

[1] Court Order Book of Old Rappahannock County, p. 56.

and "Richard White, and Sarah his wife, widow and relict of William Hanks, deceased" brought suit against William Hanks, Jr., administrator of the estate. In due time the dispute was settled, and we have the inventory and the record of the distribution, all of which are duly set forth in the Appendix of this book.

Richard White did not live long to enjoy the fourth part of the estate of William Hanks, Sr. He died before July 7, 1708, leaving his wife, Sarah, for the second time a widow. I have found no record of her death; but as she was at the time of her second husband's death presumably about sixty years of age, she probably did not live many years.

In a previous chapter I ventured a conjecture that one reason we do not know more about the original Thomas Hanks may possibly have been that he was a Puritan, a former soldier under Cromwell, resident among neighbors who through the period of the Commonwealth in England were overwhelmingly with the Crown and who stood with Berkeley in the red days of Bacon's Rebellion. He may be presumed to have had enough of fighting in his youth, and have kept industriously out of politics and other forms of public life. That still is a reasonable conjecture. But it does not explain why his family continued to be obscure. Perhaps they were no more obscure than nine-tenths of their neighbors, but, considering their property interests and the standing of the families with whom they intermarried, we should expect to hear more from them than we do. We do not know whether any of them were educated. From the fact that one line of their property at the old Indian Town ran along the "School Path," we might infer that a school was not far distant from their home. But in that period education declined, and the Hankses were as illiterate as most of their neighbors.

They had lawsuits now and then. The younger William Hanks had a number of them. Our only way of judging of the justice of their contentions is the verdicts, and so far as I have noted the Hanks family always won its suits. But if we have no records that show this family to have been illustrious, neither have we any that dis-

grace it. There are no fines, imprisonments, whippings or other evidences of bad living. The Hanks family appears to have attended to its own business, and when there were estates to settle, they were good fair estates. The elder William Hanks and his son, John, two of the President's ancestors in direct line, died in young manhood, leaving families of small children for their widows to rear. They appear to have done it well. But this must have limited the family's resources and the opportunity of the children for an education. What we find about the Hanks family indicates a wholly respectable, reasonably prosperous family. It was not distinguished; neither was it in any way disreputable.

This, then, is the root of our tree of the Hanks family in Virginia:

First Generation

Thomas Hanks, the first known landowner of the Hanks name in the Colonies, came to Virginia probably not later than 1644, and was resident on the Pianketank from an unknown date prior to 1653 until 1674 or later. He is last heard of when his region was entering the disorders attending the Indian uprising and the rebellion of Bacon in 1675 and 1676. We do not know the date of his marriage or of his death. The county in which he lived lost all of its records in or before the Civil War.

Second Generation

William Hanks, almost certainly a son, and the only known son, of Thomas Hanks, was born in Virginia, probably in Gloucester County, not very far from 1655. He was a carpenter, and at about the age of twenty-three he removed from the south side to the north side of the Rappahannock River, the two sections being at the time in the same county but separate parishes. He married Sarah Woodbridge not later than May, 1678; died before February 7, 1704, having lived for at least thirty-five years on the Indian Town Branch, also called by some Dumb Man's Branch, in North Farnham Parish, Richmond County, Virginia.

Third Generation

1. WILLIAM HANKS, JR., married Hester Mills, and had six children.
2. LUKE HANKS, married Elizabeth ——, and had three children.
3. *JOHN HANKS,* married Catherine ——, and had nine children.

William Hanks, Sr., had three sons, William, Jr., Luke and John. President Lincoln was descended from the third son, John. The three families will be mentioned in detail.

William Hanks, Jr., was born in North Farnham Parish, February 7, 1679, baptized February fourteenth of the same year, and lived and died in that parish. In 1705 he served as administrator of the estate of his father. He bought land in various parcels from 1706 till apparently 1728, some of the later purchases made possibly by his son or nephew of the same name. He died in 1732.

He married in July, 1711, Hester Mills, by whom he had six children; all born in North Farnham Parish, Richmond County, Virginia:

1. William Hanks, born October 26, 1712.
2. Hannah Hanks, born February 14, 1717.
3. Sarah Hanks, born February 22, 1720.
4. Richard Hanks, born August 14, 1723.
5. Thomas Hanks, born July 26, 1728.
6. James Hanks, born February 12, 1732.

Luke Hanks, second son of William (Sr.) and Sarah Woodbridge Hanks, was presumably born in North Farnham Parish, but there is no record of his baptism there. His birth occurred not many years after that of his brother William who was baptized February 14, 1679. He died May 1, 1732.

He married Elizabeth ——, by whom he had three children, all born and baptized in North Farnham Parish.

1. ALEXANDER HANKS, born October 31, 1719.

He was probably the father of Luke Hanks who married

Sarah ——, their daughter Martha was baptized May 26, 1752. He died in 1757.

2. LUCRETIA HANKS, born June 1, 1722.
3. TURNER HANKS, baptized June 18, 1737, died October 6, 1794. He married, (1) his first cousin, Million (or Millicent) Hanks, daughter of William and Sarah (Durham) Hanks, by whom he had:
   1. Mary, born May 20, 1761.
   2. Hannah, born June 3, 1767.

   He married (2) Sarah ——, by whom he had:
   3. George, born June 22, 1769.
   4. Luke, born May 17, 1771.
   5. Raleigh, born April 1, 1773.
   6. Pitman, born December 3, 1776.
   7. Chichester, born May 31, 1781.
   8. Turner.

JOHN HANKS, third son of William (Sr.) and Sarah Hanks, was born presumably in North Farnham Parish, but his baptism is not of record there. He married about June, 1714, Catherine ——, by whom he had nine children; all born and baptized in North Farnham Parish:

1. WILLIAM HANKS, born March 18, 1715; married Sarah Durham, January 26, 1738. He died before March 19, 1756.
2. ELEANOR HANKS, born March 18, 1717; married —— Dodson.
3. ELIZABETH HANKS, born October 18, 1720; married —— Wollard.
4. CATHERINE HANKS, born October 4, 1723. (Apparently a clerical error for 1721.)
5. SARAH HANKS, born April 7, 1723.
6. *JOSEPH HANKS,* born December 20, 1725; died in Nelson County, Kentucky, in 1793.
7. JOHN HANKS, born May 4, 1728.
8. THOMAS HANKS, born July 1, 1732.
9. ALEXANDER HANKS, born December 2, 1734.

In this third generation are ten recorded male Hankses, with many duplicated names. A number of these removed from Richmond County, and became the ancestors of the Hankses in other Virginia counties, and the Carolinas. We have interesting data concerning many of them; if it were our ambition to carry our "Who's Who" of Hankses down to later generations we could approach the task with some measure of confidence of substantial though not absolute completeness, for the Hankses followed the various migrations into Kentucky and other states near at hand, and later into Missouri, Indiana, Illinois and Arkansas, and with the first rush of the gold-diggers to California. I shall undertake to follow only those who belong to the line of Abraham Lincoln. Such mention as is made of others will be incidental. Our chief concern is with the family of John Hanks, of the third generation, the great-great-grandfather of President Lincoln.

John Hanks, third son of William and Sarah Hanks, was born in North Farnham Parish, apparently between 1687 and 1693. His father William having died in 1704, John chose his older brother, William, July 7, 1708, as his guardian. John Hanks died in 1740, aged about fifty. He left a family of nine children the eldest aged twenty-five, and the youngest only six. His son Joseph was fourteen.

The County Court was solicitous as to the future of the children, and summoned Catherine to show cause why some of her children should not be bound out. She did not appear in answer to the summons, the presumption being that she was able to give to the justices of the court and to the churchwardens assurance that she was capable of caring for her children. She lived thirty-nine years after the death of her husband, and must have been about ninety years of age when she died in 1779. Her son Joseph was administrator of her rather large estate, and made his final accounting December 23, 1782. Equal portions were distributed to her seven surviving children, William Hanks, Eleanor Dodson, Betty Wollard, "Caty" Hanks, John Hanks and Thomas Hanks.

CHAPTER VII

Joseph Hanks

The immigrant ancestor of Abraham Lincoln on his mother's side from Virginia into Kentucky was Joseph Hanks. He was Abraham's great-grandfather, but according to Mrs. Hitchcock, he was the President's grandfather.

Mrs. Hitchcock began her account of the Hanks family in America with Benjamin Hanks and his wife Abigail, who reached Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1699. One of their children, William, recorded as having been born, is not afterward mentioned. In such cases, which are abundant, the presumption is that the child died in infancy, but Mrs. Hitchcock believed, on no known evidence, that he removed to Virginia, and became the progenitor of the Virginia and Kentucky Hankses. If this had been true, she could then have been a relative of Abraham Lincoln. With this excellent start, she went on:

> There his sons, Abraham, Richard, James, John and Joseph were born. All his children, with the exception of John, moved to Amelia County where they bought large plantations near each other. The youngest son, Joseph, must have moved to Amelia County about 1740. According to deeds preserved in Richmond, Va., he sold on January 12th, 1747, to his brother, Abraham Hanks, two hundred and forty-four acres lying and being in the County of Amelia on the lower side of Seller Creek . . . thence along Joseph Hanks' line E 30 N 122 poles to his corner red oak, . . . On July 12th, 1754, he bought the land on which he then settled, and where all his children were born, the youngest of whom was Nancy Hanks, the mother of Abraham Lincoln.

She then quotes from the alleged old deed, and goes on to tell that other deeds recorded "in Richmond" show that near Joseph Hanks's farm in Amelia County his brother, Abraham, owned two hundred and eighty-four acres, his brother, Richard, two hundred and forty-three acres and his brother, James, two hundred acres.

Just why Amelia County deeds which were never recorded in that county, granting title to land which as far as we know had no place on the earth's surface, should have been discovered "in Richmond" is not apparent, and where those deeds are to be found "in Richmond" is not stated. Nor, as far as I am aware, have any of us who have conducted extensive researches in the state archives of that city been able to find these deeds anywhere "in Richmond" in the places where such documents are officially preserved. And furthermore, if any such deeds were discovered "in Richmond" conveying title to non-existent lands in Amelia, that discovery would in itself give occasion for suspicion.

She then proceeds:

> In the next county to Amelia, Lurenburg, an Englishman named Robert Shipley bought three hundred and fourteen acres of land, September 16th, 1765. He and his wife, Sarah Rachel Shipley, had five daughters—Mary, who married Abraham Lincoln of Rockingham County, Virginia, grandfather of President Lincoln; Lucy, who married Richard Berry; Sarah, who married Robert Mitchell; Elizabeth, who married Thomas Sparrow; and Nancy, who married Joseph Hanks.

Ten years after the publication of Mrs. Hitchcock's book, James Henry Lea published his *The Ancestry of Lincoln.* His contribution to an establishment of a Lincoln line in England has already been mentioned with appreciation, and his superficiality in the Lincoln line in America I have indicated without much discussion. When he came to the Hanks family, he had no material of his own, and he borrowed from Mrs. Hitchcock such documents as she had. Of her aid he wrote:

Mrs. Caroline Hanks Hitchcock, author of *Nancy Hanks, the Story of Abraham Lincoln's Mother,* New York, 1900, also preparing a MS. Genealogy of the Hanks family, to which and to Mrs. Hitchcock we beg again to tender our most cordial thanks (p. 112).

On the same page, and referring to the same lady, he said:

> While the indefatigable researches of a member of the Hanks family have forever silenced by overwhelming and cumulative proof the vicious and unclean fabrications and slanders which cast doubt on the parentage of the mother of the President, it is to be deplored that the ascending line of her ancestry, beyond her parents, still remains without positive proof.

Mr. Lea earnestly endeavored, with the aid of Mrs. Hitchcock's papers, to derive the descent of the mother of President Lincoln from William Hanks, born at Pembroke, Massachusetts, February 11, 1704, whom she alleged to have had five sons, born in eastern Virginia, Abraham, Richard, James, John and Joseph.

But he was compelled to say:

> All of these sons except John, were said [by Mrs. Hitchcock] to have removed to Amelia County about 1740, when the eldest of them could not have been above sixteen years of age, and the youngest an infant in arms . . . In the face of these facts we feel reluctantly compelled to relinquish the line of Plymouth ancestry, as deduced through William, as utterly untenable (p. 115).

I do not think Mr. Lea would have looked so deeply into the matter as this, but Howard M. Jenkins, in the *Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* for July, 1900, had pointed out these facts as mere matter of arithmetic, and Mr. Lea was an honest man and could not escape them. He went on:

> Moreover, Joseph Hanks, who in January, 1747, was selling lands on the Cellar Creek in Amelia County, Virginia, would

> have been too old for identification with Joseph, the son of William, who could not possibly have been of age at that date, while he would also have been too old for identification with the Joseph Hanks, father of Nancy Hanks, the mother of the President, as we know her to have been born in February, 1784, when this Joseph must have been upwards of sixty years old. So that, in either case, this pedigree fails us in its present form, although further evidence may supply the missing link between William, born at Pembroke in 1704, and Joseph, the father of Nancy, who died in 1793 (p. 115).

I shall have to deal yet further with Mr. Lea. We soon shall find him wallowing to his very neck in the morass of Mrs. Hitchcock's misinformation. But at this point he made an honest effort to declare his independence of her, and thereby he leaped out of her frying pan into the fire of the Pennsylvania delusion. For the notion that the Lincolns were of blood kinship with the Boones and their neighbors died hard. So Mr. Lea evolved the theory, utterly fatuous, that the Hanks name was a German name, Hanke (pronounced in two syllables), the spelling later sometimes modified to Hankey, and he found people of that name to have been neighbors of the Boones, with whom he made futile effort to connect the Lincolns through the Hankses. Whoever cares to see how an honest and misguided man, attempting to extricate himself from one morass, can sink himself over his head in a deeper one, may read Mr. Lea's book, pages 115-118. I will not follow him through this slough. No one has ever accepted his theory, and no sensible man ever will. It deserves mention here only as showing what came out of the most serious effort that had been made to trace this family prior to my own labors. And here, in this bog, was where I found the matter when I began. It was a discouraging place to start, and I did not know the way out.

Amelia County seemed beyond question the place for my next investigation, but Mrs. Hitchcock's statements with regard to the Hanks family in that county, with definite documented references to relations and land transfers, seemed so explicit, I could not find

it in my heart to doubt that all the records she claimed to have discovered there were actually as she described them. However, just to make certain of it, I sent to the Court Clerk of Amelia County and asked for certified copies of all documents in that county relating in any way to the family of Hanks. He sent them, and I had my first rude awakening. There was not a single document that Mrs. Hitchcock had cited. He sent me just six records, relating to three pieces of land, which two men named Hanks owned for a few years between 1760 and 1774.

I could not believe that this was all. Later, in Richmond, I employed as assistant a man who had made two journeys to Amelia and other central, southern and western Virginia counties for previous biographers or genealogists in the Hanks field of inquiry, and I bought from him copies of all the notes he had earlier furnished them. As for Amelia County, he had given these earlier investigators precisely these six entries and no more!

Then I went to Amelia County. The Clerk is a gentleman who once was County Judge, but on the consolidation of the courts he ran for office as Clerk, and has held that position for many years. He remembered all the people who had been there before me on the same quest. His records are in excellent shape.

He gave me full liberty and I searched his books, finding exactly the same six records and no others.

But I already had my suspicions, and I ran down the indices and found that the Hanks records that had appeared in published books were records of a wholly distinct family!

When I had finished, I sat for a long time and talked with the Clerk, and he told me a number of things which need not be recorded here, concerning previous investigators of the Hanks family.

I think it must have taken me two or three years to escape from the toils of this misinformation. I spent time and money beyond what was mete in the confident belief that the story as told by Mrs. Hitchcock and by Lea and Hutchinson must have some shred at least of truth as its foundation. It was only when I cast it utterly

aside, as a snare and a delusion, and set forth on an investigation that but for my confidence in their work might have saved me all that footless labor, that I found the real home of the Hankses and their way out, and that more by special Providence than by any wit of my own. If to any reader I seem impatient over those wasted years and with those who occasioned the waste, I seem to myself to have been altogether too patient and unsuspicious.

The only Hanks families who resided in Amelia County and left a record there prior to the year 1800, are Richard Hanks and his brother James. These were cousins not brothers, of Joseph. His parents were John and Catherine. Their parents were William Hanks, Jr., and his wife, Hester Mills. Richard was born August 14, 1723, and James was born February 12, 1732. They had two other brothers, William and Thomas, and two sisters, Hannah and Sarah, all born and baptized in North Farnham Church. Richard removed from Richmond to Amelia County in 1759 and bought two hundred and forty-three acres of land March 31, 1760, paying for it thirty pounds; he sold this same land for fifty pounds, January 24, 1771. Three years after his removal from Richmond County his younger brother, James, followed him to Amelia, where he bought one hundred acres for sixty pounds, October 26, 1763. Nearly five years later, June 23, 1768, he bought an additional hundred acres. He and his wife "Nancey" sold one hundred acres April 27, 1769, for sixty-five pounds; and their remaining one hundred acres they sold in 1774 for one hundred pounds.

They removed to Bedford County, and it was from there that Abraham Hanks, son of Richard, born in Amelia County, April 12, 1759, before Richard had received title to his land, went to a period of service as a Revolutionary soldier, enlisting April 2, 1779, and serving until May, 1781.

At the time Mrs. Hitchcock made her elaborate list of Hankses resident in this county, with land transfers and other alleged records, there was not a single Hanks in Amelia!

What Mrs. Hitchcock did in the Amelia County records was to

look for Hankses, and finding none, to take over records of a family whose name looked more or less like Hanks. There was a wholly separate family named Hawks, so plainly recorded and indexed; but fading ink and a vivid imagination can now and then make Hawks appear like Hanks. There were as many people in Amelia named Hawks as Mrs. Hitchcock could possibly have wished. That she did what she did in all good conscience is no concern of ours. Her story of the Hanks family in Amelia County is imagination.

Even this is not all nor yet the worst. Through a friend of hers who had married into the Mitchell-Thompson family of Washington County, Kentucky, which family was neighbor to the Lincolns, but never to the Hankses (for the Hanks family never resided in Washington County), she proceeded to work out an elaborate scheme of family relationship based on the undocumented theory that five sisters named Shipley so married into the families of Hanks, Lincoln, Berry, Sparrow and Mitchell as to make the entire group cousins. One touch of nature is said to make the whole world kin; Mrs. Hitchcock supplied that touch. Virgil tells us of a fisherman who found on the shores of the Ægean a thole-pin, and made thereof a boat. Mrs. Hitchcock could not find so much as a thole-pin, but the boat she made sails proudly on.

Lea and Hutchinson, having no other source of knowledge, took over her story bodily, as did Miss Tarbell. Lea and Hutchinson tell us "on authority of Mrs. C. H. Hitchcock" (p. 105) that Robert Shipley had five daughters. They add, in sheer honesty, that none of these daughters "appear in the Virginia records." But they proceed exactly as if they had found them there. To the best of my knowledge and belief they can not be found in any contemporary record. I had to learn, slowly and expensively, not only that no one of them pertinent to this inquiry was married to the man whom Mrs. Hitchcock named, but that these men had wives of other names than those she gave.

These are the five Shipley girls as Lea and Hutchinson, "on the authority of Mrs. Hitchcock" listed and married them:

I. Mary Shipley who married Captain Abraham Lincoln.

II. Lucy Shipley who married Richard Berry. "They were the foster parents of the orphaned Nancy Hanks, whose legal guardian Richard Berry became . . . It is this Aunt Lucy—Berry, not Hanks—who has been mistaken by the first hasty historians, as for example Nicolay and Hay, as the mother, Lucy Hanks, and so helped to give credence to the foul fable of base birth so industriously fomented by the enemies of the President."

III. Sarah Shipley, who married Robert Mitchell.

IV. Elizabeth Shipley, who married Thomas Sparrow. "They became the parents of Nancy Sparrow, mother of Dennis Friend, who later assumed the name of Hanks."

V. Nancy Shipley, who married Joseph Hanks of Greenbriar County. (Pp. 107-108.)

Still further, Mr. Lea says of Joseph Hanks:

"All authorities" and his foot-note cites one only, Mrs. Hitchcock, "agree that his wife was Nancy Shipley, the daughter of Robert Shipley, an Englishman. . . . He is said to have been also of Amelia County, and the deeds there show a flourishing colony of Hankses in that region—Joseph, Abraham, Richard and James, all brothers" (p. 119).

I may as well take the five daughters up one by one, and comment:

I. There is not the dot of an *i* nor the cross of a *t* in any contemporary record to show that Abraham Lincoln of Virginia had any other wife than Bathsheba. Mary Shipley Lincoln is a fictitious character.

II. Lucy Shipley did not marry Richard Berry; his wife was Rachel. Richard Berry was not the legal guardian of Nancy Hanks; his son assumed the neighborly courtesy of "guardian" as that term was loosely used, when a woman of age and without a father was about to be married. Nicolay and Hay were not hasty in their paragraph about the daughters of Joseph Hanks; they sweat blood over it. It was not the enemies of President Lincoln who fomented

a foul fable of the birth of the President's mother, but Abraham Lincoln himself who sorrowfully told the truth about it.

III. The Mitchell family lies outside this inquiry, but the Shipley story in that family rests solely on a middle letter "S" in the name of a Mitchell daughter; it is rather more likely to have stood for the family name of Stith; but whatever it stands for does not concern us. The story that Sarah S[hipley] Mitchell, on her marriage to a member of the Thompson family, named her first child Nancy Hanks Thompson after her playmate and cousin, Nancy Hanks, and that Nancy Hanks in naming her first child Sarah was commemorating her cousin and girlhood friend, Sarah Shipley Mitchell Thompson, is one that the Thompsons and Mitchells like to believe, but there is no contemporary proof that these girls ever suspected each other's existence.

IV. Elizabeth Shipley did not marry Thomas Sparrow. There was no such woman. And now, behold on pages 128 and 129 of Lea and Hutchinson where this same Thomas Sparrow appears as the husband of Elizabeth Hanks, and lives and dies with Nancy Hanks Lincoln, and is buried beside her, all of which, singularly, is true; for no book can deal in falsehood all the time! But turn back to page 122 and find this same Elizabeth Hanks simultaneously married to Levi Hall, and by him becoming the mother of three children! Really, this is worse than any of the Hanks women ever did! And whose wife shall she be in the literary resurrection?

V. "Nancy Shipley Hanks" never existed anywhere, and if she had been in Amelia County, Joseph Hanks would never have found her. He never lived in Greenbriar County. Her name was Ann. We shall learn, and shall be the first to know, her family name.

Here then I set up my guillotine, and serve as lord high executioner in a farewell service in honor of Mary Shipley Lincoln, Lucy Shipley Berry, Elizabeth Shipley Sparrow and Nancy Shipley Hanks. We shall need to use the guillotine again when we come to Nancy Sparrow Friend. As for Sarah Shipley Mitchell Thompson, if that was her name, she does not concern us.

I will not attempt to describe my feelings when I learned how completely I had been deceived. That those who had misled me were honest, I did not question, but they were none the less culpable, and I found certain evidence that some people had not been honest. I was indignant, and with just and righteous indignation, against those who had perpetrated this huge and amazingly successful fraud. But I was the more troubled because I had no clue to a way out of the maze. I received no help from any one who had gone before me. Miss Tarbell was cordial and thoroughly honest, but she had committed herself unqualifiedly to Mrs. Hitchcock's theory, and had become its chief advocate. She was willing to be convinced, but was equally certain that no one could convince her. Waldo Lincoln had gathered large material on the Lincoln family, but on the maternal side he had accepted Mrs. Hitchcock in full. He showed me his manuscript and I told him he was wholly wrong; he rewrote portions of it reluctantly. Mrs. Hitchcock had become very shy, and it was evident that she had told all she knew and more.

I had much local help from friends who were willing to follow any clue I gave them, but I had no clues remaining. And I had friends who looked over what I had done and were emphatic in their approval. Senator Beveridge accompanied me on one of my Kentucky explorations and was wholly satisfied. Carl Sandburg accepted the results of my inquiry in full, and his mind does not fetter itself with the shackles of cold fact. Honorable William H. Townsend, pursuing investigations of his own, traveled with me many glad and weary days, and was in full accord. For a time I had generous assistance from Rev. Louis A. Warren. He was minister to a little church in Hodgensville, and later of one in Elizabethtown. Having immediate access to Hardin and Larue County records, he exercised diligence and intelligence in their decipherment and classification, and I owe him much. I communicated to him my discoveries of the unreliability of Mrs. Hitchcock, and he procured from her, what I had once failed to secure and no longer

cared for, her papers. That he got nothing of importance from them beyond what her little book had given, his own book attests. He became convinced, and very unwillingly, that in the only three particulars that gravely mattered, Mrs. Hitchcock was totally wrong. He learned:

I. That the Nancy Hanks named in the will of Joseph Hanks as his daughter was not the President's mother, but an aunt of the same name, who later became the mother of Dennis Hanks and still later the wife of Levi Hall.

II. That Nancy Hanks, who married Thomas Lincoln, was the daughter of Lucy Hanks.

III. That the Amelia County Hankses used by Mrs. Hitchcock were not Hankses but Hawkses.

After those admissions, there was nothing left to discuss. Mr. Warren, whose researches did not take him extensively into Virginia, actually visited Amelia County and photographed some of the records in which names undeniably written Hawks were used by Mrs. Hitchcock as Hanks.

But Mr. Warren felt that Mrs. Hitchcock had not deliberately misrepresented, and he was desirous of justifying her confidence in him. He tried to convince himself that all that the Hanks family in Illinois knew about Lucy and the two Nancys they had learned from Dennis and that Dennis was unreliable. Mr. Warren failed in both these undertakings. There were in Illinois four members of the Hanks family of the generation next older than Dennis, namely, William Hanks and Elizabeth Hall, his wife, and Joseph Hanks and Mary Young, his wife, who knew the Hanks family before Dennis was born, to say nothing of his mother-in-law, Sally Bush Lincoln. Mr. Warren, knowing Mrs. Hitchcock to be in error in all that was important to her story, still did the best he could not to discredit her.

I seemed to be at the very bottom without any place to commence. For I had to begin at the very start, casting aside all that I had been taught about the Hankses.

Where was I to make my new beginning?

I began at the Bureau of the United States Census, and made up a Who's Who of Hankses as they were in 1782 to 1790. I made a list of all the Hankses in the Thirteen Colonies. And I found Joseph Hanks, with a family of eleven persons, all white, in Hampshire County, Virginia, in 1782. This was a family of precisely what it should have been to include Joseph Hanks, his wife, Ann Hanks, five sons and four daughters, including Lucy.

There was no other Joseph Hanks with whom my discovery might possibly have been confused. I had found the real Joseph Hanks, though it stirred much dust in the Census Bureau to discover him. But why was he in Hampshire County? No Lincoln biographer had ever dreamed of that then remote county in what is now West Virginia as the birthplace of the President's mother. From whence had the family of Joseph Hanks come? How long did they remain? Where did they go?

I did not know. But I had under my feet my first solid and undeniable fact.

And now I am ready to take up again the story of the Hanks family in what I discovered to have been their second Virginia home, and to trace them through Richmond County to Hampshire, and on to Kentucky.

Joseph Hanks, son of John and Catherine Hanks, was born in North Farnham Parish, Richmond County, Virginia, December 20, 1725. He married not later than 1758, and he and his wife, Ann, became the parents of nine children, five sons and four daughters. Since in his will his five sons are first named and then his daughters, the precise order of the births of the children is uncertain, but it is apparent that the eldest son is first named, and the other sons in order, and that the daughters also are named in the order of their ages. Only one of them appears to have been baptized in the North Farnham Church. The record of Elizabeth's baptism fixes the date of the birth of the second daughter, and the census of 1810, with other data, enables us to determine within a few months the time of

birth of the oldest of them. A document on file in the Pension Office gives the year of birth of the eldest son, Thomas, as 1759, and the eldest daughter, Lucy, was at least seven years younger than he.

On October 4, 1773, Joseph Hanks was appointed road surveyor. From 1779 to 1782 he served as administrator of his mother's estate. He was listed in the census returns of 1782 as resident in Hampshire County, Virginia, with a family, including himself, of eleven persons, all white. In 1784 he mortgaged his farm in Hampshire County and moved to Kentucky. The mortgage, dated March 9, 1784, was for a pitiful sum, twenty-one pounds, nine shillings, in depreciated Virginia script. The mortgage was foreclosed promptly in six months. On February 28, 1787, Joseph Hanks purchased a contract of sale of land on Rolling Fork, in Nelson County, Kentucky. On January 8, 1793, he made a will which was proved May fourteenth, following. He named his wife whom he called "Nannie" and eight of his nine children. His five sons named in the will are Thomas, Joshua, William, Charles, Joseph, to each of whom he bequeathed a horse. The three daughters named, to each of whom he left a heifer, were Elizabeth, Polly and Nancy. He also had an additional child, his eldest daughter, named Lucy.

The will of Joseph Hanks reads:

> In the name of God, Amen. I, Joseph Hanks of Nelson County, Kentucky, being of sound mind and memory, but weak in body and calling to mind the frailty of all human nature, do make and devise this my last will and testament in the manner and form following, to wit: Item. I give and bequeath unto my son Thomas one sorrel horse called Major. Item. I give and bequeath unto my son Joshua one gray mare Bonny. Item. I give and bequeath unto my son William one gray horse called Gilbert. Item. I give and bequeath unto my son Charles one roan horse called Tobe. Item. I give and bequeath unto my son Joseph one horse called Bald. Also the land whereon I now live, containing one hundred and fifty acres. Item. I give and bequeath unto my daughter Elizabeth one heifer yearling called

Gentle. Item. I give and bequeath unto my daughter Polly one heifer yearling called Lady. I give and bequeath unto my daughter Nancy one heifer yearling called Peidy. Item. I give and bequeath unto my wife Nanny all and singular my whole estate during her life, afterward to be equally divided between all my children. It is also my wish and desire that the whole of the property first above bequeathed should be the property of my wife during her life. And lastly, I constitute, ordain and appoint my wife Nanny and my son William as my executrix and executor to this my last will and testament.

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of us this eighth day of January, One thousand seven hundred and ninety three.

his
JOSEPH x HANKS
mark

Isaac Lansdale
John Davis
Peter Atherton

The will bears the following endorsement:

At a court begun and held for Nelson County on Tuesday the fourteenth day of May, 1793. The last will and testament of Joseph Hanks, dec'd, was produced in court and sworn to by William Hanks, one of the executors therein named and was proved by the oaths of Isaac Lansdale and John Davis, subscribing witnesses thereto, and ordered to be recorded.

Attest. BEN GRAYSON, Clerk.

Contrary to general impression, and my own supposition when I first visited the region for the purposes of identification, the Joseph Hanks land was located in that part of Nelson which still belongs to that county, and not in what is now Hardin or Larue. The farm is on Rolling Fork, about two miles above the mouth of Pottinger's Creek. Old settlers say that the mouth of the creek has shifted. It was part of an entry of one thousand acres entered by Joseph Barnet October 3, 1783. From Barnet it passed to John Lee, who, on February 23, 1787, contracted to sell this hundred and fifty acres to

Joseph Hanks "as soon as a deed can be obtained from Joseph Barnet." This deed, apparently, was never made. Joseph Hanks never had a good title to his rough little farm.

William Hanks sold this land to Joseph Nevelt, taking in exchange an assigned treasury warrant, number 19256, on which June 12, 1784, James Love and Jonathan Colver had entered one thousand acres of land in Grayson County, Kentucky, near the falls of Rough Creek. William Hanks received his patent July 17, 1810, and is the only Hanks who appears to have lived on land secured by him from the Commonwealth of Virginia. Here, near the Falls of Rough, were born William Hanks's children, including John Hanks, who split rails with Abraham Lincoln.[1] But William Hanks did not remain all his life on this farm. True to the migratory instincts of his clan, he moved to Illinois, and there died in 1851 or 1852. His wife was Elizabeth Hall, sister of Levi Hall, who married Nancy, the daughter of Joseph Hanks. William and Elizabeth Hanks had eleven children, of whom John, born in 1802, was the eighth.

Ann Hanks, widow of Joseph, did not long remain in Nelson County. On January 10, 1794, she and her son Joseph joined in assigning to William Hanks, her son, the contract of John Lee under which they held the farm. Lee was probably a relative of hers. It appears probable that Joseph was then under age, for on March 8, 1817, he testified that having migrated to Virginia and back again, he was given "an old chunk of a horse" for a quit-claim deed. Joseph returned to Virginia with his mother, and it was presumably after her death that he returned to Kentucky. There he did some work as carpenter, and was associated for a little time with Thomas Lincoln. It is hardly correct, however, to say that Thomas learned his trade in Joseph's shop in Elizabethtown; Joseph was not in Elizabethtown long enough to own a shop. He was listed in the Hardin County tax books in 1805, and at that time owned land in Breckenridge County. Probably he had not been back very long. In 1806

[1] Beveridge is in error in saying that Dennis and John Hanks were half-brothers (I: p. 59). They were first cousins.

he bought from his brother, William, seven hundred of the one thousand acres near the Falls of Rough toward which William had traded his father's farm in Nelson County. He married Mary Young in 1810. He subsequently moved to Adams County, Illinois, where his descendants lived for many years, and were able to confirm portions of Mrs. Hitchcock's misinformation in 1899.

Of Joseph Hanks's nine children eight appear to have accompanied the family into Kentucky. The only one who did not do so was Thomas, first named of the sons in his father's will, and presumably his eldest son. He apparently was the first of the Hanks family to explore the Patterson Creek Valley with a view to settlement there, and when the rest of the family went to Kentucky he remained in Virginia.

While exploring the region about Mike's Run, I sought to discover whether any tradition of the Hanks family remained in that locality. I was able to discover just one, and I think it probably authentic. And it is not an unpleasant one. Mr. David G. Martin, of Antioch, West Virginia, a surveyor who during many years of continuous service has become familiar with the lands and people of all that region, and who has procured for me old deeds and patents and made for me maps of the region about the Hanks property, found this tradition among some of the oldest residents, that Joseph Hanks fought a battle with a wildcat, and in a running fight killed the cat with the blow of a tomahawk. It was counted a deed of courage and of skilful striking, and lived in the traditions of Mike's Run. Those who preserved this tradition, of course, did not know that Joseph Hanks was the ancestor of President Lincoln, but knew only that he was a brave man.

Thomas was the only member of the family of Joseph Hanks who saw service in the Revolutionary War. In the winter of 1780, being then a resident of Hampshire County, he served in Captain Daniel Richardson's Virginia company for a period beginning late in December and ending about the first of March, 1781. Again, in the following winter, he served for two months in Captain Isaac

Person's company under Major Vincent Williams. These facts he set forth in his application for pension, July 31, 1833. He swore that he was born in Virginia, place and county not stated, in 1759; that he removed from Hampshire County, Virginia, to Rose County, Ohio, in 1800, and thence to Logan County, Ohio. The year of his death is not stated. In 1830, he was listed in the United Census for Logan County, and in that same county were Absalom Hanks over thirty, Peter Hanks over twenty-six, Isaac and William Hanks over twenty, all of whom may have been his sons. In 1840 there were Peter, over forty, and Nehemiah over twenty, all in this county and presumably descendants of Thomas.

The affidavit of Thomas Hanks is of great interest, because none of the published volumes of Virginia soldiers of the Revolution contains the name of Hanks, but Thomas is one of three of the names of whom the Pension Office has record. Thomas was refused a pension because he served only five months, and the minimum service required for a pension was six.

But the affidavit is important in other particulars. Beyond any doubt this Thomas is Joseph's son, and his birth in 1759 affords a *terminus a quo* for the marriage of Joseph and Ann Hanks. They may be presumed to have married not later than 1758, and at which time Joseph would have been thirty-two years old.

One other fact calls for attention. Thomas was able to sign his application. The name "hanks" he wrote laboriously, with a small initial and the letter "n" inserted later; but the "Thomas" is rather well written, and not unlike the Thomas Hanks signatures of other members of the family.

The two other Hanks soldiers in the Revolution do not belong in this narrative but they are of interest, and I give their record in the Appendix.

We find mention of Joshua Hanks in Kentucky in 1786, and he and Charles were there years later. William and Joseph and Thomas we have already considered. But our concern with the family of Joseph Hanks is not mainly with his sons, but his daughters.

The only one of the four Hanks sisters who has been left without literary meddling is Mary, or Polly. She was married December 10, 1795, to Jesse Friend, by Rev. Joseph Dodge, and the record is in Elizabethtown, Kentucky.

The sister, Elizabeth, whom Lea and Hutchinson bigamized or trigamized, was married to Thomas Sparrow, in Mercer County, October 17, 1796. This humble couple had no children, but accepted as their own, Nancy Hanks, the daughter of Lucy, and Dennis Hanks, the son of their sister, Nancy. Dennis Hanks claimed to be heir-at-law of Thomas Sparrow, as his adopted son, and on that claim obtained a settlement out of court in a contest over certain property.

The youngest daughter was Nancy. She married Levi Hall, and had children who knew themselves to be half-brothers and half-sisters of Dennis Hanks, and Dennis also described them to Herndon in these terms. The date and place of marriage of Levi Hall and Nancy, his wife, have not been found. The Census of 1810 found this couple near Greensburg, Green County, Kentucky, Levi and Nancy both being over twenty-six and under forty-five, and with four children, two boys and two girls, all under ten. As Dennis Hanks was born in 1799, the Hall-Hanks marriage, whether it began regularly or as a common-law marriage (and there were many such) began rather early after the birth of Dennis.

With Lucy Hanks, the eldest daughter, we shall deal in the next chapter. Let us now consider Joseph Hanks's daughter, Nancy, for she is central in a mooted discussion. Mrs. Hitchcock, finding the name of a daughter Nancy in the will of Joseph Hanks, with no inquiry so far as her book shows as to whether there might have been two or twenty Hanks girls of that name, leaped to the conclusion that this Nancy Hanks named in the will of Joseph as his daughter, inheriting the heifer named "Peidy" was Lincoln's mother. And it has been the last ditch in which biographers of her school have met reluctant death. For Dennis Hanks, who certainly

knew his own mother, affirmed that his mother was Nancy Hanks, the aunt of President Lincoln's mother of the same name.

Then began and still continues a most reprehensible assault on the part of the Hitchcock school upon Dennis Hanks. They declare that he was ignorant; that he was a liar; and that no man so untruthful and uncouth could possibly have been a Hanks. He was a son of Charles Friend, and his mother was not Nancy Hanks but a Nancy Sparrow. So they declare. And in just one particular they tell the truth; Dennis Friend Hanks was a son of Charles Friend.

Charles Friend after his adventure with the older Nancy Hanks and a few other women became more or less a pillar in the Little Mount Baptist Church. It is through a bequest of his for the care of his own grave that we are able to identify the site of the Kentucky church of which Thomas and Nancy Lincoln were members. But Charles Friend was not in the habit of marrying the young women whom he got into trouble. Two and one-half years after the birth of Dennis Hanks, Nancy Riley came into court and swore that on November 7, 1802, she was delivered of a bastard male child and that the father of it was Charles Friend. Whereupon a warrant was issued, signed by Squire Isom Enlow, who sent a guard with the constable to bring Charles Friend into court. He was brought into court, and gave bond for his later appearance. He defaulted his bond, which could not be collected; and meantime he probably saw and consoled Nancy Riley so that she prosecuted no further.

Now what I should like some one to tell me is, how did the person or persons who informed Mrs. Hitchcock learn that Charles Friend was the father of Dennis Hanks—a fact which Dennis concealed even from Herndon—and not learn who his mother was? And who invented, by sheer necessity for a mother other than Nancy Hanks, the fictitious mother, Nancy Sparrow? The answer is that they did know, and when they accuse Dennis Hanks of falsehood they can not come into court with clean hands.

Miss Tarbell affirms in her latest book that no one has produced

any other Nancy Hanks who might have been the Nancy named in the will of Joseph Hanks, except the mother of the President. The task of producing her I now gladly assume. The difficulty is not in finding another Nancy Hanks, but in finding few enough of them. By way of illustration of the frequency with which this name is encountered, an example may be given from a closely related branch of the Hanks family.

Luke Hanks, who died in 1789 in that part of Abbeville County, South Carolina, which is now Anderson, left a will, dated May 21, 1789, and proved October seventh in the same year. He left all his property to his beloved wife, Ann. In 1822 Anderson County was erected out of a part of Abbeville. In due time Ann died. In 1833 there was a friendly suit for partition of the estate. The case was not skilfully handled and it dragged in the courts. Final settlement was made in 1842. By that time there were fifty-seven heirs of Luke and Ann Hanks, twenty-seven of them non-resident. Of the women, five were named Nancy. In almost any group of a half-dozen Hanks girls, there was likely to be a Nancy.

But we do not need to go to the family of Luke Hanks or any one of his descendants in order to supply a Nancy. We have overwhelming evidence that the daughter of Joseph Hanks, named Nancy, was the mother of Dennis Hanks. This we have on the affidavits of members of the Friend family, and also those of the Hall family made when in 1892 they sold their Lincoln relics for exhibit at the World's Fair in Chicago in 1892. Nancy Hanks, youngest daughter of Joseph and Nancy Hanks, and heiress of the spotted heifer, gave birth on May 15, 1799, to a male child, whom she named Dennis, after the younger brother of Henry Sparrow, husband of her eldest sister.

It is time now to propound and answer the question,—Who was the wife of Joseph Hanks? We are the first people who are able to answer that question, and again we discover and rebuke with merited severity the conscienceless method of those who named her Nancy Shipley. It is not in the interests of good morals that those

shameless fabricators, whoever they were, should be spoken of as if they had been innocently mistaken. They had no color of record to support their prevarication. The thing they did was morally wrong, and no one can defend them without becoming an accessory after the fact.

The name of the wife of Joseph Hanks was Ann.

But Ann what?

We shall have a chapter about her very soon. But meantime we will record her name.

The maiden name of this great-grandmother of Abraham Lincoln was Ann Lee.

CHAPTER VIII

LINCOLN WAS A LEE

WHATEVER progress has been made toward a genealogy of the large Lee family in Virginia, results from the belated interest of a few individuals in their own lines, and in wide-spread interest in the lineage of Robert E. Lee. The results are fragmentary at best.

The Lee family as a whole has never been fully searched out, and he will have a task who attempts to sort out the Charleses and Henrys and Richards and Williams and marries each of them to his own wife and distributes to each his own children and no others. The "Stratford" line, descended from Colonel Richard through his son Richard, has been somewhat carefully traced by those who love Robert E. Lee: but the genealogist of this family, Dr. Edmund Jennys Lee, says of the "Dichley" the "Cobb's Hall" and the other lines descended from the same immigrant ancestor, that the records are "very meager, imperfect, incomplete and thoroughly unsatisfactory."

The beginning of a genealogy of the Virginia Lees is contained in a statement made by William Lee in 1771. He informs us that Richard Lee, of a good family in Shropshire, went to Virginia some time in the reign of Charles I as Secretary and one of the King's Privy Council; and that he returned to England. This statement may be true, but it has been found impossible to prove it. There is no known record of the arrival of Richard Lee at this early date nor does any such name appear at the time in the official records of Virginia. William Lee went on to say that Richard Lee, after a stay of some time in England, returned again to Virginia and settled

The birthplace of Robert E. Lee, Stratford, Virginia

Photo, Courtesy of the Illinois Central Railroad Company

The birthplace of Abraham Lincoln
inside Memorial Hall, Hodgenville, Kentucky

there. In this he was certainly correct, and we know the year. He and his wife, Anna, whose maiden name is unknown, arrived in Virginia in 1642, and that is the beginning of authentic Lee history in the Old Dominion. William Lee says of his ancestor Richard that he "was a man of good stature, comely visage, sound head, vigorous spirit, and generous nature."

Colonel Richard Lee and his wife, Anna, had seven sons and two daughters. A daughter and five of the sons are named in this order in his will, John, Richard, Francis, Hancock, Betsy, Ann and Charles. He died between February 6 and April 20, 1664; for on the first of these dates he made his will and it was proved on the latter date. His widow married promptly, as was the custom of the time, her second husband being Edmund Lister. The Lee sons bred mightily in the wilderness, and their seed became numerous.

Richard Lee, second son of Richard and Anna, was born in 1647, educated at Oxford, married Lætitia Corbin, daughter of Henry and Alice Eltonhead Corbin. From Lætitia sprang the somewhat long line of Lee daughters and granddaughters named "Lettice." She was born in 1657 and died October 6, 1706. Her husband died March 12, 1714.

Henry Lee, fifth son of Richard and Lætitia, was born in 1691, and died August 25, 1747. He married, 1723, Mary, daughter of Colonel Richard Bland. She was born August 21, 1704, and died in 1764. They had three sons, John, Richard and Henry, and a daughter Lettice.

Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Lee, third son of Henry and Mary, was born in 1729, and married Lucy Grymes, alleged to have been the "lowland beauty" who gave to the heart of the young George Washington one of his several breaks. His will was dated October 1, 1787.

Major-General Henry Lee, second child and eldest son of Henry and Lucy Grymes Lee, was born January 29, 1756, and died March 25, 1818. He served as Governor of Virginia, and was a gallant soldier in the Revolution, where he was known as "Light Horse Harry Lee." He was a member of the Constitutional Convention,

and later was called by Washington to suppress the Whisky Rebellion. It was he who applied to Washington the phrase, "First in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

He was twice married. His first wife was his first cousin, Elizabeth Lee, who died May 17, 1790, leaving him four children. His second wife was Anne Hill Carter, daughter of Charles Carter, by whom he had six additional children. Of his various services to Virginia and the nation, of his gay and expensive living and his heavy debts, he may read who wishes to learn. His is a bright page albeit one with shadows, in our country's history.

Robert Edward Lee, fourth son of General Henry Lee by his second wife, Anne Hill Carter, was born where his ancestors for generations had been born, at Stratford, Westmoreland County, January 19, 1807, and died in Lexington, Virginia, October 12, 1870. Of his high character and great ability as a soldier nothing need here be said. His name has enduring honor in both North and South.

Thus Robert E. Lee was of the sixth generation of Lees resident in Virginia, the generations being rather wide apart because several of his ancestors were younger sons. The line may conveniently be epitomized thus:

I. RICHARD LEE, arrived in Virginia in 1642 and died in 1664.
II. RICHARD LEE, born in 1647, and died in 1714.
III. HENRY LEE, born in 1691, and died in 1747.
IV. HENRY LEE, born in 1729, died in 1787.
V. MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY LEE, born in 1756, died in 1818.
VI. MAJOR-GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE, born in 1807, and died in 1870.

Robert and Edward were Carter names, not Lee names. It was Anne Hill Carter who broke the sequence of Richards and Henrys and Charleses and Williams by naming her baby Robert Edward Lee.

And now, before we introduce the Hanks family into this narrative, it is time for us to take a lesson in geography. When Colonel

Richard Lee established his home in Virginia in 1642, there were but eight counties in that commonwealth and he lived in the County of York. That county was subsequently divided and redivided and subdivided. Before Colonel Lee died, his estate, which he called Paradise, was located in Gloucester County, on the borders of New Kent, later the home of Martha Custis Washington. Gloucester was then the richest and most populous county in Virginia, and was in the peninsula formed by the York River on the south and the Rappahannock on the north. His neighbors may be presumed to have varied in quality, but if Virginia had an aristocracy in that day, Gloucester County was the center of it, and some of his friends were among the most noted men in Virginia.

We are already aware that Thomas Hanks was for at least twenty-one years a resident of this Gloucester region. And now we discover that, as his holdings widened and his boundaries followed the lines of other planters, two of his patents grant him land adjoining the estate of Colonel Lee! This was none other than Colonel Richard Lee, progenitor of the Lee family, and ancestor of Robert E. Lee! That belligerent old royalist, foremost in Virginia in support of Charles I, and one of the first to hail Charles II as the lawful sovereign of England, lived for many years a near neighbor of Thomas Hanks! The loyalist ancestor of Robert E. Lee and the rebel ancestor of Abraham Lincoln were next-plantation neighbors in Gloucester County!

Furthermore, when Bacon's Rebellion was over, and the Hanks family moved across the Rappahannock, so did the Lees.

And as Thomas Hanks had long lived neighbor to Colonel Richard Lee on the south shore of the Rappahannock, their children in successive generations lived neighbors on the north shore of the same stream. The Lees established their abiding-place at a plantation which they named Stratford, and the Hankses, intermarrying with the Woodbridge family, whose plantation occupied the site of an old Indian village not far away, lived for a hundred years with Lees on three sides of them. And, unless some wife from an-

other noted family insisted that one of her sons should be named for some ancestor of her own, each Lee family was likely to secure for itself a place in posterity with one son named William and another named Charles and another named Richard and another named Henry and another named John.

The house in which Robert E. Lee and his ancestors for several generations were born is still standing. It is rather a melancholy monument of a departed glory. It was a pretentious but never an attractive or comfortable house. Of all Colonial mansions that have come down to us, it is perhaps the least lovely. It is an H-shaped house; the middle section is a bare and unattractive salon, and the wings are living apartments and guest rooms. In the right leg of the H, Robert E. Lee was born, and there also his father and his grandfather first saw light. The house deserves to be better kept. Upon the roof are two massive roof-garden turrets, once used for dancing but no longer safe. The old kitchen has one of the most generous fireplace arches in America. It would take in a ten-foot log and roast an ox. In the old days of luxury Stratford was a place of cheer, but General Henry Lee was a speculator, and Robert E. Lee was born not indeed to penury but certainly not to plenty. But it was a monument to the old aristocracy of Virginia, and such it still remains.

At the time the Lees and the Hankses transferred their homes from the south side of the Rappahannock to the north side of that stream, there was a strong infiltration of Puritan stock into the northern neck. The *Mayflower* set out, in 1620, it will be remembered, to establish a colony "in the northern part of Virginia." Some people who crossed in that ship lamented in the long New England winter that she had drifted so far north.

A number of Massachusetts families of the second generation, finding the winters very severe, and possibly not entirely enjoying all the features of Puritan discipline, left the Old Bay State, and founded new homes in Virginia. There they left their family names of Broughton, Lord, Dewey, Smalley, Sturgis, Washburn and

White. I have found an Alden White, whose ancestral lines run back to Peregrinne White and John Alden of the *Mayflower.* Not only so, but the Virginia girls begin to be named Prudence, Patience and Temperance, with a sprinkling of Priscillas! Colonel Isaac Allerton, of Plymouth, whose father was Isaac Allerton, of the *Mayflower,* and whose mother was Fear, daughter of Elder Brewster, of Plymouth, moved in and made his home among the Lees. His daughter, Sarah Allerton, became the second wife of Colonel Richard Lee's son, Hancock Lee. Perhaps if we had all the maternal lines, we should find that both Robert E. Lee and Abraham Lincoln were *Mayflower* descendants!

We have knowledge of a quadrilateral agreement made March 31, 1670, between John Lee, Henry Corbin, Thomas Garrard and Isaac Allerton to build together a banqueting hall. They did so. Until the hall was burned in 1714, they feasted annually with their clans, one Puritan and three Cavaliers; and once in four years they rode in procession round their boundaries, reviewing the old landmarks and feasting merrily when all was done. One would like to have attended one of those quadrennial feasts. There was doubtless abundance to eat and quite enough to drink.

I have mentioned the *Mayflower,* and that some of the descendants of those who first crossed in her moved subsequently to Virginia. There is more to be said about the *Mayflower.* It will be remembered that the Pilgrims set out in two ships, the *Speedwell* and the *Mayflower,* but that the former was overmasted and sprung a leak. The two ships had to put back into port, and those of the passengers who were not disheartened by the delay were crowded into one ship, which sailed alone. Captain John Smith, who was disgruntled because these "humorists" as he called them, meaning blunderers, had not employed him to convey them to Virginia, recorded that, "after being pestered nine weeks in this leaking, unwholesome ship, lying wett in their cabbins, most of them grew very weak, and weary of the sea." We may be sure he told the truth.

What became of the *Mayflower* and the *Speedwell?*

There have been many inquiries but no one has known. Many wild conjectures have found their way into print. I think I can tell this much about them, that both of them were afloat for many years afterward and that they made other voyages. The *Mayflower* crossed to New England and coasted on to Virginia, and the *Speedwell* also made at least one voyage to Virginia, whether by way of New England or not I do not know. After the New England Colonies had become fairly well established there was an active coasting trade combined with a transoceanic trade, and I find in the Virginia records references to "our dear brethren in New-England" whose interests were one with theirs in these voyages.

But here are two amazing discoveries, now published for the first time. On a recent journey to Virginia, my attention was called by Mr. E. Carter Delano, Deputy County Clerk of Richmond County, to a paper recorded at Montross, the county-seat of Westmoreland, the next county north, and the home of Washington and the Lees. A ship had crossed to New England, done business in Boston, and sailed on to Virginia, dropping anchor in the Potomac River, within sight of the homes of Lee and Washington. As was customary, the captain of the vessel acted as agent for various shippers, and he had occasion to file his credentials for record at the Westmoreland Court-house. Here is the document which Mr. Delano showed to me, and of which I possess a certified copy under seal of the court:

"Boston In Newengland ye 17th
Septr. 1658

Know all men by these Pr. Sent to whom it may Concerne yt. I William Brenton of boston In newengland Marinr. do apointe and order my trusty and beloved friend Mr. Daniell Hute Master of *ye Mayflowr.* my true and lawfull Attorney in my name and for my use to demand receive and receive all such Soms of Money goods and Tobaccoes as are due to me from any man or men in Virginia or in any other parts thereto belonging

Thomas Mitchell
John Lee

WILLIAM BRENTON

Recorded Apr. ye 10 1661."

It is not difficult to learn about William Brenton. He was a selectman of Boston and a man of standing in the community. The records refer to him as "Mr. William Brenton." He bought from the Indians a tract of land on which now stands the city of Taunton. He is mentioned in a Suffolk County will of March 30, 1666. He was alive and doing an extensive business at the time the *Mayflower* was crossing the ocean and coasting on down to Virginia.

On April 26, 1685, the Westmoreland Court is held "att the House late of Mr. Thomas Pope dec'd at Popes Creek."

And Pope's Creek is precisely where George Washington was born! If he had been born early enough he might have seen the *Mayflower,* in Nominy harbor, a bow-shot from his birthplace!

While we are talking about the *Mayflower,* we may as well note that Captain Daniel Hutt later brought his wife across and lived and died at Nominy, and his widow, with that promptness which was characteristic of the time, married a second husband before the estate was settled, and there appeared with her in court "Jno. Crabb married ye Relict Extrx. of Danll. Hutt, late of Nominy, deceased."

But that is not all. One of these ship-captains got into a dispute over one of his agencies, and there is record of the Court at Nominy, in Westmoreland, in February, 1684, of Nicholas Spencer vs. John Julian, and it appears of record that John Julian is "Master of the Shipp *Speedwell* of London and now riding att Anchor in the Port of Nominy."

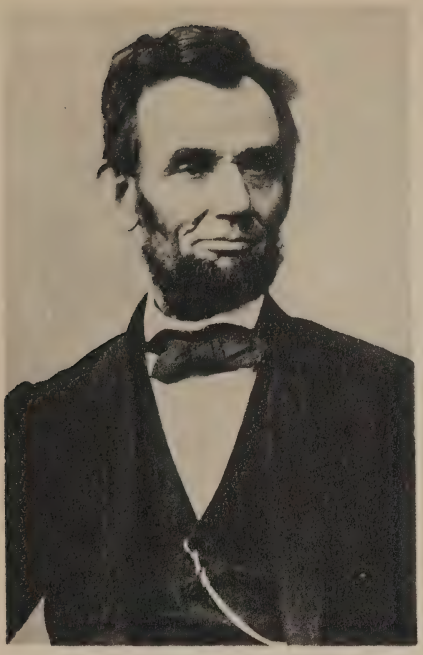
How many voyages did the *Mayflower* and the *Speedwell* make, and how many of the early families of Virginia, as well as of New England, crossed in them, or moved up and down the coast in them as they wove their shuttle-web that held together the people and interests of the two Colonies? The *Mayflower* and the *Speedwell* belong as fully to Virginia as to New England.

The tombstone of Hancock Lee, at Dichley, is an eloquent reminder of the Massachusetts blood that mingles with that of early Virginia not only in the Lees but of many other proud southern families:

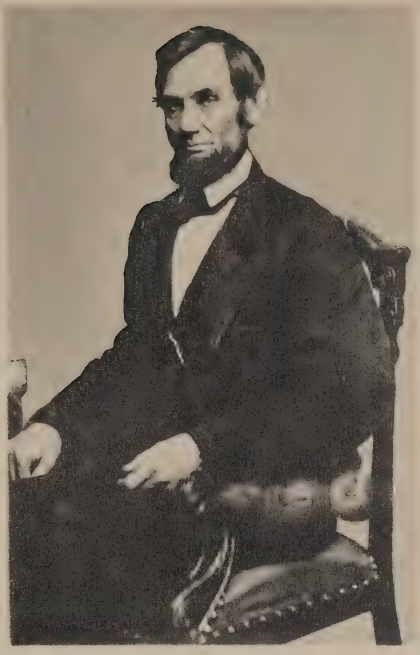
Here Lyeth the Body of
Hancock Lee Seventh Son of
Honourable Richard Lee
Departed this Life May the 25th
Anno Dom. 1709 Aeta 56 years
Also Mary his first wife only
Daughter of William Kendell Gent.
Who Departed this life Decembr.
The 24th Anno Dom. 1694
Aeta 33 Years.
And Sarah his last wife
Daughter of Isaac Allerton Esqr.
Who Departed this life
May the 17th Anno Dom. 1731.
Aeta. 60 years

His first wife was a Virginian; his second wife a granddaughter of the minister of the *Mayflower,* and there were children by both wives, good, respectable and aristocratic Lees, all of them. We can not distinguish them apart. We are one people.

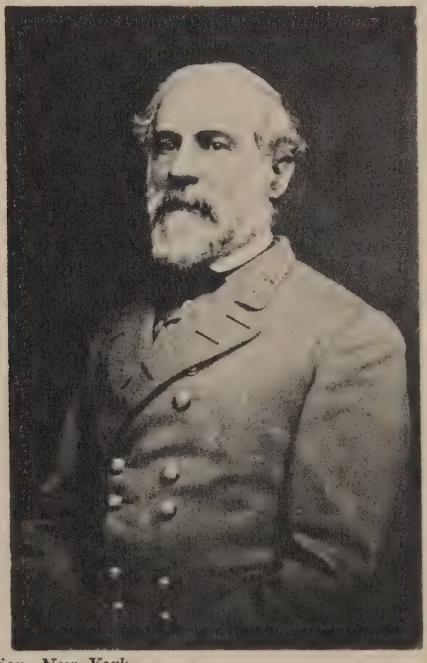
The lady to whom we are indebted for the information which enables us to complete this chapter is Elizabeth Taylor, of Richmond County, Virginia, whose husband, long deceased, was probably named Thomas. Elizabeth Taylor acquired her married name when the Virginia Taylors were all Taylors, before William Taylor, father of John, the founder of the aristocratic home named Mount Airy, changed his name and that of his descendants to Tayloe. The date is May 11, 1747, and on that spring day Elizabeth Taylor, weak in body but of perfect mind and memory, thanks be to Almighty God for it, is disclosed in the act of signing her will. Few women wrote their names in Virginia in that day, but the better educated were not content to make criss-cross marks. From Elizabeth's bold "B" it may be inferred that she adopted her sign manual in a youthful period in which she was called Betsy or Bess, but that was long years earlier. From the facts that Elizabeth Taylor was a grandmother in 1704 or earlier, and that in 1747 she had two great-granddaughters



Lincoln in 1863



Lincoln in 1863



Photos by Brady, the Frederick H. Meserve Collection, New York.

Robert E. Lee after the War

Robert E. Lee in 1863

nearly or quite of marriageable age, we may safely infer that Elizabeth in 1747 was not less than ninety years of age, and that she was born somewhere about 1655. That date carries us far back even for Virginia. Elizabeth Taylor was in every way of the First Families of Virginia. We do not know her maiden name. One Elizabeth Henderson married Thomas Taylor, and one Elizabeth Kings Mill married William Taylor, but neither of these marriages is early enough for our requirements.

Elizabeth Taylor, at the time of the making of her will, had two living daughters, Dorothy Croucher and Sarah Ellate. Even they must have been old ladies. Both were widows, and Dorothy had lost two husbands, the first, William Lee, in 1717, and the other, Richard Croucher in 1740. Elizabeth Taylor left to these two widowed daughters her clothing. It was to be equally divided, and then Dorothy was permitted her choice. The estate was a large one, but the daughters were not given bequests of large value. Probably their modest needs were supplied.

Elizabeth Taylor had at least four grandsons, but she named only one of them in her will. His name was William Lee, the same as that of his father. As the older William Lee had been married long enough to be the father of at least three children before his death in 1717, we may assume that he was born not later than 1685, but we do not know. He died in early manhood. His "relict" Dorothy Lee, with Thomas Taylor, probably her father, as her bondsman, was appointed administratrix of his estate in 1717. Dorothy's second husband, Richard Croucher, left a will when he died in 1740. Elizabeth Taylor knew about wills.

The northern end of the "Northern Neck" of Virginia, occupying a space of about thirty-five miles from northwest to southeast, with an average width of not more than fifteen miles between the Rappahannock and the Potomac, gave to the nation more famous men than any spot of equal area in the United States. There lived the Carters, the Fontleroys, the Corbins, the Mountjoys, the Taylor-Tayloes, the Wormsleys, the Lees and the Washingtons. This com-

munity was a remarkable one, and, having to this day no railroad, and being pent in by deep and wide tidal rivers, it had its choice of travel by boat or by roads through the woods. To an unusual extent its inhabitants knew their neighbors, and every one was related to every one else on the same social level. There were marked social distinctions, but on the whole it was a homogeneous population. It is very much more than a possibility that when Mary Ball Washington had her baby, Elizabeth Taylor, although even in 1732 an old lady, rode over and congratulated Mary, whom she must have known from her birth, and held the red-faced and squalling George Washington in her great-grandmotherly lap. The Balls lived southeasterly and the Washingtons northeasterly from the Taylors. They all knew one another. For a time they were all in the same parish; and when later the parish was divided, the same minister conducted service in both parishes. The same minister who baptized the Washingtons baptized all the others of the same generation.

So, when William Lee married the daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Taylor, we may reasonably assume that every one said it was a most suitable match; and as far as any one knows, they lived happily ever afterward. They probably were married somewhere about 1700-1702. They had four sons, born with becoming regularity once in two years from 1704 to 1712.

They named these four boys, almost automatically, and in their order, William, Charles, Richard and John. If the Lees had been blessed with a fifth son, they would have named him Henry. The two older sons, at least, married and had children. Very likely the others did likewise, but we lose them among the host of cousins of the same names. Of his three daughters, Ann, Betsy and Sarah, we do not know the ages, but the two young men whom Ann and Betsy married not long afterward were twenty-one and nineteen respectively; and we may conjecture that the girls in 1747 were well grown.

For some reason, Elizabeth Taylor did not name in her will any of her grandchildren except William Lee, son of Dorothy. Him she

made executor of her estate and her residuary legatee. To his three daughters, Betty, Ann and Sarah, and his son, Richard, she left bequests. Those to the great-granddaughters interest us. To each of the girls she gave one cow and calf, one ewe and lamb, a blanket, a pewter basin and a small trunk. To Betty she bequeathed also her prayer-book, her long-handled pot-ladle, her little saltcellar and some sheets, blankets, a bed-rug blanket and her looking-glass.

Now if William Lee, Jr., grandson and executor of the will of Elizabeth Taylor, had made haste to settle his grandmother's estate, we should have known nothing about this matter, and we should never have known that Ann Lee was the great-grandmother of Abraham Lincoln. But William Lee was a gentleman of leisure and he took his time in the matter. So far as we know, there was no complaint about the delay at the time, and we will make none now. But while he made some payments on the bequests, the estate was still unsettled when William Lee, Jr., died in 1764. Even so, it is remarkable that we know what we do know about it. For we do know, and for the first time, that Abraham Lincoln was a lineal descendant of this famous family of Lee. By the time William Lee's accounts were settled, two of his daughters were married and their husbands are named in the court records.

At this time we have estimated Elizabeth Taylor's age as above ninety. Her grandson, William Lee, the second of that name was forty-three. He was born May 14, 1704.

There were three William Lees who were immigrants, but they were not in this part of Virginia and their dates do not agree with those of the William Lee who married Elizabeth Taylor's daughter Dorothy. It is almost certain that he was a grandson, though it is barely possible that he was a great-grandson, of the original immigrant, Colonel Richard Lee, his locality and the names of his sons marking him unmistakably as of that stock; we find no other Lees in Westmoreland and the edge of Richmond at so early a period. But as Colonel Richard Lee had more than one grandson named

William we are not quite certain from which of the seven sons of the old Colonel he descended.

While the family lists are incomplete, I find one brother of the older William Lee. His name was Richard. William's four sons I have already named, William, Charles, Richard and John. The second William had one son, Richard. Here are three successive generations, with a Richard in every one of them. Assuredly these are descendants of Colonel Richard Lee.

What has all this to do with Abraham Lincoln?

It has very much to do with him.

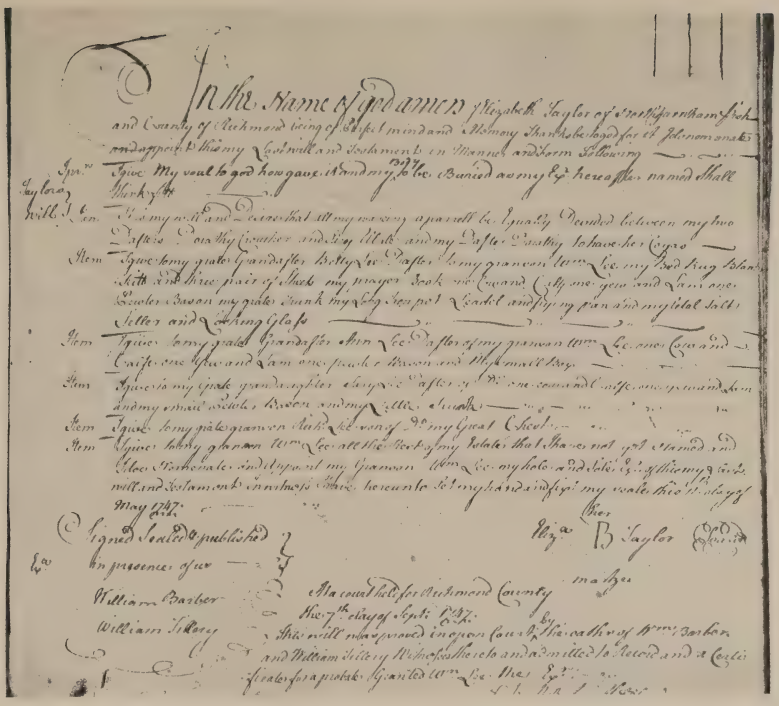
The younger William Lee, son of William Lee and Dorothy Taylor, his wife, died in 1764. When his estate was settled a balance remained to be paid to each of his four grandchildren, due them under the will of their great-grandmother, Elizabeth Taylor. Thomas Hanks received by this settlement nine pounds, eleven shillings and nine pence. Joseph Hanks received two pounds, two shillings and six pence. In the case of each of these two men the record definitely states that the money was due "for his legacy bequeathed his wife by Elizabeth Taylor, deceased." To Richard Lee, the brother of these three young women, was payable four shillings at the time of his father's death.

We have no trouble in determining from official records which of the Lee girls the two Hankses married. Thomas Hanks, who married Betsy Lee, was the son of William and Hester (Mills) Hanks. He was born July 26, 1728, and was more than two years younger than his first cousin, Joseph Hanks, who was born December 21, 1725, the son of John and Catherine Hanks. These two young men, first cousins, married the Lee sisters.

By the marriage of Joseph Hanks to Ann Lee was born Lucy Hanks, President Lincoln's grandmother.

The Lee Line of Abraham Lincoln's Pedigree

Assuming William Lee to have been of the third generation of the Lee line in America, and his parents-in-law, Thomas and Eliza-



In the Name of God Amen I Elizabeth Taylor of Northumberland Parish and County of Richmond being of perfect mind and Memory thanks be given for it Calling unto mind the mortality of my body and knowing that it is appointed for all men once to die do make and ordain this my Last will and Testament in manner and form following — Imprs Item I give My soul to God who gave it and my body to be Buried as my Exr hereafter named shall think fit — As to my worldly Estate which it has pleased God to bless me with in this life I give and dispose of the same in the following manner and form — Item I will that all my just debts and funeral charges be paid and discharged by my Executor hereafter named — Item I give to my loving Grandson Billy Taylor my Negro Girl named Sall and her Increase to him and his heirs forever — Item I give to my loving Grandson Thomas Taylor my Negro Girl named Hannah and her Increase to him and his heirs forever — Item I give to my loving Granddaughter Betty Taylor my Negro Girl named Lucy and her Increase to her and her heirs forever — Item I give to my loving Granddaughter Elizabeth Taylor my Negro Girl named Rose and her Increase to her and her heirs forever — Item I give to my loving Grandson William Taylor my Negro Girl named Dinah and her Increase to him and his heirs forever — Item I give to my loving Grandson Thomas Taylor my Negro Girl named Jenny and her Increase to him and his heirs forever — Item I give to my loving Grandson William Taylor my Negro Girl named Hannah and her Increase to him and his heirs forever — Item I give to my loving Granddaughter Betty Taylor my Negro Girl named Sall

beth Taylor, to have been one generation earlier in their respective lines, we are able to assemble the following contribution toward a family tree:

First Generation

COL. RICHARD LEE, came to Virginia in 1642, with wife Anna. More than one of his seven sons had sons named William.

——————TAYLOR.

Second Generation

—————— LEE
son of Richard and Anna

THOMAS (?) TAYLOR married ELIZABETH——————. He died after 1717; she died 1747. She was survived by two daughters, Dorothy and Sarah, both widows, and by grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Her will is dated May 11, 1747.

Third Generation

married

WILLIAM LEE — DOROTHY TAYLOR
Daughter of the above Elizabeth; see Will Book, No. 5, p. 531.

They are believed to have had daughters, but the only children certainly identified are their four sons, baptized in the old North Farnham Church, namely:

1. William Lee, born May 14, 1704, and died 1764.
2. Charles Lee, born September 18, 1706.
3. Richard Lee, born April 9, 1711.
4. John Lee, born October 11, 1713.

Fourth Generation

WILLIAM LEE, born May 14, 1704, and died 1764, is named in the will of Elizabeth Taylor as her grandson, and in the North Farnham Parish Register as the son of William and Dorothy Lee.

At the time of the making of the will of Elizabeth Taylor, May 11, 1747, he had living three daughters and one son whom that will named, and all four of these were still living when their father died in 1764 and at the time of final accounting, April 3, 1769. These were:

1. Elizabeth, or Betsy Lee, wife of Thomas Hanks.
2. Ann Lee, wife of Joseph Hanks.
3. Sarah Lee, unmarried in 1764.
4. Richard Lee.

Fifth Generation

JOSEPH HANKS, son of John and Katherine Hanks, born December 21, 1725, and baptized in North Farnham Parish; married before 1759, when their son Thomas was born, Ann Lee, daughter of William, and granddaughter of William Lee and his wife, Dorothy Taylor.

Sixth and Succeeding Generations

Joseph and Ann Lee Hanks had five sons and four daughters, one of whom, Lucy Hanks, became the mother of Nancy Hanks Lincoln, the mother of Abraham Lincoln.

In establishing the descent of Abraham Lincoln from the illustrious families of Lee, Woodbridge, Taylor and the rest, we practically assure ourselves of his descent also from such intimately related families as the Wormsleys, the Carters, the Corbins and the others; but we have no present occasion to pursue the investigation further. Abraham Lincoln sprang from the loins of the common

people through "second" or "undistinguished" families; but they were not disreputable families and in his viens was some of the bluest blood of the First Families of Virginia.

Robert E. Lee was born January 19, 1807. His father was the brilliant and improvident "Light-Horse Harry." His mother was of the proud stock of "King Carter." Little more than two years later, on February 12, 1809, in Kentucky, late a county of Virginia, in a log cabin, Abraham Lincoln was born. His father was the good-natured and almost impecunious Tom Lincoln, and his mother the gentle and intelligent Nancy Hanks. All these were native Virginians.

These two men present contrasts enough, but both were intellectual, both had unusual ability, both were men of magnanimity, who emerged from a cruel war without hatred, and who sought the welfare of a reunited country. Both were men of great heart and unsullied honor. Both were Virginians, and both belong to the whole of America. Both North and South should be proud to know that these two great and noble Americans were kinsmen.

CHAPTER IX

Lucy Hanks

How many daughters did Joseph Hanks have? His will named three only, Elizabeth, Polly and Nancy. This, of course, does not prove that he had no others. He might have had another daughter and omitted her name for the reason expressed or understood that she already had her portion, or because she was married and had a husband to look after her, or, sadly, because he had disinherited her. Lawyers, of course, note the technical language of Joseph's will in which, after the death of his wife, his residuary estate should be equally divided among "all my children." This does not affirm that the children named in the will were all. Joseph Hanks was an illiterate and presumably a dying man. The lawyer who drew the will probably did not know of any children other than those whom the sick man named. Undoubtedly, if Joseph Hanks had any other children than those named in the will, they could have inherited their share of the residuary estate, if any, under that clause. But Joseph Hanks was not thinking about that, nor had he need to think about it. There was not likely to be, and was not, any residuary estate.

Lawyers and logicians in all ages have learned to beware of the *argumentum a silentio,* but this stone which any sound logician would have relegated to a very obscure place has become the headstone of the corner, indeed the sole documentary foundation, of the argument that nearly read Lucy Hanks out of her place among the children of Joseph Hanks, and of the ancestral line of the President.

Until Mrs. Hitchcock published her little tract, no doubt had been expressed in any book known to me as to the number of chil-

dren in the family of Joseph Hanks. When President Lincoln died, there was only one man on earth who had known him from the cradle to the grave, chopped with him, hoed with him, ridden with him, loafed with him, eaten with him, slept with him, attended camp-meetings and horse-races and lawsuits and political gatherings with him, and that was Dennis Hanks. Dennis was not only the best educated Hanks among Lincoln's relatives, he was the most intelligent, and as compared with old John Hanks, the rail-splitter, who was honest but coarse and rough, Dennis had some of the instincts of a gentleman. Moreover, all Hanks cousins, as Herndon affirmed, agreed with Dennis in his statements. There was not one opposing voice in 1865, or in 1875, or in 1885, or in 1895, or in any of the years between. Dennis Hanks in an autobiographical letter, now in the University of Chicago, writing in a plain legible hand, said to William H. Herndon:

> Dennis F. Hanks was Born in Hardin County on the tributary branch of the South Fork of Nolin on the old Richard Creal farm in the old Peach Orchard in a log cabin 3 miles from Hogins Ville thence we moved to Mercer County and Staid there a Bout 3 years and Moved back again to the same place untill we moved to Spencer County Indiana this was I think in the year 1816 if my Memory Serves me Rite. My mother and Abes mother's mother was sisters My Mother name was Nancy Hanks. Abes Grand Mother was Lucy Hanks which was My Mother's Sister. the woman that Raised me was Elizabeth Sparrow the Sister of Lucy and Nancy. The other sister hir name was Polly Friend. So you see that there was 4 sisters that was Hankses.

This was true, every word of it, and no one questioned it for more than forty years. The truth involved two cases of illegitimacy in one generation, two of the four Hanks sisters becoming mothers before they were married. It is not the most cheerful reading possible, but it was accepted as truth, and was truth, and to their honor historians and biographers were not in general disposed to magnify it unduly.

Here is what Nicolay and Hay, writing nervously under the critical eye of Robert T. Lincoln, said about the matter:

> Mrs. Lincoln's mother was named Lucy Hanks; her sisters were Betty, Polly and Nancy, who married Thomas Sparrow, Jesse Friend and Levi Hall. The childhood of Nancy was passed with the Sparrows, and she was oftener called by their name than her own. The whole family connection was composed of people so little given to letters that it is hard to determine the proper names and relationships of the younger members amid the tangle of traditional cousinships.[1]

They had no occasion to mention the misfortune of Nancy Hanks, who after the birth of her baby married Levi Hall, but they faced squarely the fact that President Lincoln's grandmother was, at the time of the birth of the President's mother, an unmarried woman, Lucy Hanks. They might have brought the name of her husband, Henry Sparrow, into the story by way of a smoke-screen, and they did not do it. They published this paragraph in the *Century Magazine* and it came out in book form some years before Mrs. Hitchcock issued her work of fiction, and the paragraph stood and still stands through all the editions of that book. It ought to have been left in just that form, for it was the simple truth, skilfully told, and it was their business as much as it was anybody's, to know or inquire.

If anything further is necessary now, and it is, those are responsible who, partly by superficial investigation and partly also by wilful perversion of the facts, have given issue to a contradictory story, and to those who, without adequate investigation, have helped to broadcast it to the world.

Dennis Hanks was a cheerful egotist. Like every other old man who had known and felt himself honored by his acquaintance with Lincoln, he exaggerated his own importance in the stories he told; but I, who have listened to some hundreds of these stories, think

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[1] *Abraham Lincoln, A History,* Vol 1, p. 24.

that few of the men who told them kept as near to the facts as Dennis Hanks, and no other man except William H. Herndon had so much to tell. In one matter only Dennis Hanks deliberately lied, and he lied like a gentleman. Waldo Lincoln, in his *History of the Lincoln Family,* deluded until his book was almost ready for the press by Mrs. Hitchcock and her book, reluctantly changing some of his mistakes, still left in his manuscript and published in his book a fling at Dennis as one who went out of his way to malign the President's mother. On the very contrary, Dennis, himself suffering as he had suffered all his life the disgrace of being a bastard, waded knee-deep in falsehood to save his cousin, Nancy Hanks Lincoln, from like reproach. I can not approve the lie, but I honor the motive.

If any one thinks Dennis Hanks enjoyed being a bastard, let him interview the children or grandchildren of Dennis Hanks. If any one thinks he desired that Abraham Lincoln's mother should share his disgrace, let him read his painfully ineffective falsehoods, which some biographers make merry about, when he was mercilessly cross-questioned by William H. Herndon. Inasmuch as Henry Sparrow married her mother, and Thomas Sparrow became her foster-father, and the name of Nancy Hanks had almost been replaced by that of Nancy Sparrow, the falsehood of Dennis and his cousins had a large degree of plausibility. It was Abraham Lincoln himself who refused to share in the kindly and generous lie. Lincoln could have phrased a statement that would not have been quite a falsehood and would have satisfied Herndon and every one else. But except for this one lie, ingeniously invented and generously told, Dennis told the truth about his cousin, Nancy Hanks, and about his own mother as well.

Wherever Dennis Hanks and Mrs. Hitchcock and her followers disagree, and that is practically all the time, and there are any records to help settle the question at issue, the records in every case sustain Dennis.

I could justify myself in harsher language than I shall use in stern reproof of those respectable authors who have ridiculed Dennis's spelling, made merry over his admission of the dereliction of his

mother, and charged him with attempting to drag Lincoln's mother down to his own level of illegitimacy. Compared with their misrepresentations, the lie of Dennis Hanks rises to a conspicuous place among the virtues. Dennis Hanks was a more truthful person than most of those who have maligned him.

This brings me back to Mr. Lea in his well-intended but utterly biased account of this matter, and I will quote first what he says about Dennis:

> Charles and Nancy (Sparrow) Friend were the parents of the irresponsible and unreliable Dennis Friend, one of the President's youthful associates, who, assuming the name of Dennis Hanks, did much to complicate the already difficult problem of the Hanks genealogy, which the mendacity of his declining years still further confused (p. 108).

And yet again, speaking of Thomas Sparrow and his wife (which one we do not know because Lea got into a hopeless tangle in this matter as we shall see) he tells of the death of both in the autumn of 1817, and of their leaving their grandson—

> The son of their daughter, Nancy Sparrow, who had married Charles Friend, and died leaving an only child called Dennis Friend, who afterward assumed the name of Dennis Hanks, causing deplorable confusion in the true understanding of the Hanks family (p. 129).

And then, by way of sorting out the wife of Thomas Sparrow who became the mother of Nancy Sparrow, we find:

> Charles Friend married Nancy Sparrow, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth (Shipley) Sparrow, and had a son, Dennis Friend, whose subsequent assumption of the name of Hanks has greatly increased the popular confusion in the Hanks pedigree (p. 122).

There we have it, three times over, and how much of it is true?

First, Charles Friend did not marry Nancy Sparrow; first because he married another woman, and secondly because there was no Nancy Sparrow at hand for him either to marry or betray. And Charles Friend betrayed more women than he married. There were Sparrows enough, and some of them were named Nancy, but this Nancy Sparrow is an utter creation. We bury her here, beside the other women whom we have had to put to death.

Secondly, in this particular passage, Lea gives correctly the name of Thomas Sparrow's wife. When Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow died, and the estate had to be settled, the sworn and undisputed testimony was that they never had had any children.

Thirdly, the statement that Dennis Hanks "subsequently" assumed another name than that by which he had formerly been known was utterly untrue. His father was Charles Friend, and he was named Dennis Friend Hanks.

Fourthly, Dennis did not complicate the Hanks genealogy; Mrs. Hitchcock and Mr. Lea did that.

Fifthly, there was no mendacity in the old age of Dennis Hanks. He continued a cheerful, shrewd, loquacious old man, until, when nearly ninety-three years of age, he was run down by a buggy at Paris, Illinois, October 21, 1892, as he was returning from a celebration of the anniversary of the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution. He was a genial, kind-hearted old Democrat, who loved Abraham Lincoln, but never voted for him. If he thought that most of Lincoln's greatness had come to him from his fortunate association with Dennis Hanks, he was not the only man who made that kind of mistake. He believed and told William H. Herndon, that Herndon's *Life of Lincoln* would be successful in proportion as he recognized the share that Dennis Hanks had in Lincoln's life; we can afford to smile at the harmless egotism of that. Other people felt the same and with less reason.

I may mention that I have been fortunate in finding some records for which other biographers have searched by reason of the fact that I have counted Dennis Hanks essentially truthful, except as I

have stated. For instance, in the autobiographical letter already quoted I found reference to a residence of Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow in Mercer County, Kentucky. No Lincoln biographer had ever associated Mercer County in any way with the Lincoln story. I followed the clue afforded by Dennis, found his statement to have been precisely correct, and discoverd a rich fund of additional knowledge where no one had ever thought to look for it.

Now let us consider to what extent Dennis Hanks was a liar. He lied in this, that he dated back the marriage of Henry Sparrow and Lucy Hanks to cover the birth of Lucy's daughter Nancy. As Nancy was known by the name of Sparrow, and her mother was really married to Henry Sparrow, he declared that Henry Sparrow was Nancy's father. And he did this because, suffering in his own life from the consciousness of being a "base-born child" he was determined to shield the mother of Abraham Lincoln from like reproach.

It was William H. Herndon who in 1865 and 1866, both in an interview in Chicago and an extended correspondence, catechized Dennis unmercifully. He also interviewed a number of the Hanks cousins and they all agreed with Dennis. I have photostats of unpublished letters of Herndon on this point. Even rough but honest Old John Hanks agreed to the lie. Herndon was almost convinced. He would have been convinced but for the testimony of one witness. Abraham Lincoln had declared to Herndon that his mother was Nancy Hanks and that her mother Lucy was unmarried at the time of her daughter's birth.

Miss Tarbell feels quite sure that William H. Herndon would never have told what he did on this subject if he had not been a drinking man. Drunk or sober, William H. Herndon was a lover of Abraham Lincoln, and a good lawyer. Moreover, he was seldom drunk in 1865, and his periodic intoxication has been used too much as a smoke-screen by those who are unable to refute his sober logic.

I have no measure of sympathy with the ribald and indecent merriment of those biographers who giggle with amusement to see Dennis with his quaint orthography (albeit with direct and cogent

expression) hopelessly involved in his falsehood under the cross-questioning of Herndon; nor do I increase my respect for the honesty of those who, because Dennis lied in this particular, proclaim him as a shameless prevaricator.

Dennis had told Herndon that Nancy's name was not Hanks but Sparrow, and that she was the daughter of Henry and Lucy Hanks Sparrow, the latter the eldest sister of his mother, Nancy Hanks, who was the youngest in a family of four sisters.

Herndon was not thus to be put off. He did not know the date of Henry Sparrow's marriage to Lucy Hanks, but he knew what Lincoln had confided to him. So he wrote again to Dennis, and Dennis replied under date of February 22, 1866:

> 1st question, How comes it that Lincoln him Self Calls his Mother Nancy Hanks?
>
> I say this I Dont Believe he ever Said so for his Mother was Nancy Lincoln; hir Madin Name was Nancy Sparrow. So what is the Use of all this?

But Dennis was disturbed. For he learned that Herndon was in correspondence with Charles Friend, the son of Dennis' own father. Dennis had concealed from Herndon his father's name, but Herndon was in danger of learning it from Dennis' half-brother. So, already deep in falsehood concerning his cousin, and still going deeper in his effort to protect her good name, he made his admission to Herndon concerning his own birth:

> You Say that you have Received a Letter from Charles Friend; he used to No Sum of my ants and unkels. I will Say this a Bout it Billy. I am a Base Born Child. My mother was Nancy Hanks, The ant of A. Lincoln's Mother. My first ant, Lucy Sparrow, Next Polly Friend, Next Elizabeth Sparrow, these on My Mother's Side and Abes.

Only prejudice can fail to discover in this letter the evidence of truthfulness as to the essential relationships, or to respect the motive

which prompted the misguided falsehood. And nothing is farther from the truth than that Dennis, complacent in his own illegitimacy, wished to drag down the President's mother to his own level.

Herndon was persistent. He wrote immediately on receipt of Dennis' letter and Dennis replied February 28, 1866:

> Friend William those questions is Mity Easy to Answer.
> 1st, Who was the mother of Nancy Sparrow?
> Now this is Abes mother you are asking a Bout. It was Lucy Hanks first and Next Lucy Sparrow My Ant.
> 2nd What was Miss Nancy Sparrow's father's Name?
> It was Henry Sparrow. Lucy Hanks was his wife, the mother of Abes Mother and My Ant.
> Did Mister Sparrow and his wife have any children except Nancy Sparrow?
> I answer yes they had 8 children, 4 sons and 4 daughters. James, thomas Henry, George: girls Sally, Elizabeth, Nancy, all born in Mercer county, Kentucky.
> 3rd. Who did Jesse Friend Mary?
> He married My ant polly Hanks, Abes mothers ant. Thomas Sparrow married Elizabeth Hanks, A. Lincoln's ant, sister to Henry Sparrows wife Lucy Hanks; this is their first name.
> Who did Levi Hall mary?
> He married My Mother, Nancy Hanks which was Lucy Hanks Sister, Henry Sparrows wife, Abes grand Mother.
> 4th. Was you raised by Charles Friend or Thomas Sparrow?
> I was raised by Thomas Sparrow on the Little South Fork of Nolin Kentucky.
> 5 Was thomas Sparrow Mr. Lincoln's Mothers father?
> I answer No Kin at all.

These statements so often reiterated are consistent, and except in one particular are truthful. What is remarkable is that though the Hankses and Sparrows had been separated for forty years and by hundreds of miles, and no known correspondence took place between them, Dennis was able to give the names of the sons of Henry and Lucy Sparrow accurately. He made one omission and

one mistake about the daughters, and of course he intended to make a mistake by including Nancy among the Sparrow children.

Here is the way he met the cross-examination of Herndon:

> Those questions you Propound is the easiest for me to answer of all the rest. I give it in full, noting what I say. 1st What is the Name of A. Lincoln's Mother?
>
> Hir name was Nancy Sparrow; hir father's name was Henry Sparrow, hir Mother was Lucy Sparrow, hir Madin name was Hanks, sister to my Mother. 2nd. You say why was she cald Hanks?
>
> All I can say in this She was Deep in Stalk of the Hanks family. Calling her Hanks probily is My Falt. I always told hir She Looked More Like the Hankses than Sparrow. I think this is the way; if you call hir Hanks, you make hir a Base born Child which is not trew.

So wrote Dennis early in February, 1866. The last sentence shows the motive. Dennis was trying desperately to protect the name of his cousin, the President's mother, from the stain of illegitimacy. It seemed to Dennis and the other Hanks cousins a very plausible story. Nancy Hanks in her childhood had oftener been called Sparrow than Hanks, not, however, by Henry and Lucy, but by Thomas and Elizabeth with whom she spent the latter part of her girlhood as their foster-daughter; and in 1866, it seemed easy to transfer the name and the reason for it back to her own mother and the man she married.

Biographers who have followed Mrs. Hitchcock have not been able to stop with their murder of Lucy Hanks. One crime necessitated another, and they had to dispose of the older Nancy. That was why Lea and Hutchinson faced undaunted the penalty of the law against bigamy by marrying Elizabeth Sparrow, among others, to Levi Hall. There is utterly no human possibility of making the Hitchcock myth consistent. The only safe course is to repudiate it entirely, and to tell the truth.

Miss Tarbell, an honest woman, but in this matter sadly com-

mitted on the wrong side, goes down clutching at this straw—she does not understand how we can take Dennis Hanks seriously as a genealogist. Dennis was rather a competent genealogist in his way, but all we need to require of him in the sphere of genealogy is that he should have known his own mother. If Nancy Hanks, the mother of Dennis Hanks and subsequently the wife of Levi Hall and mother of the Hall children, was a different Nancy Hanks from the wife of Thomas Lincoln, then the whole Hitchcock story falls.

The one vital question is: Was the mother of Abraham Lincoln the daughter or the granddaughter of Joseph Hanks who died in 1793? Abraham Lincoln settled that question, when he declared in his sketch for John Locke Scripps that John Hanks, son of William, son of Joseph, was Abraham's mother's first cousin. He knew. And so did the Halls and the Friends and the Hankses, and we have the written, and in the case of the Halls and the Friends, sworn testimony on this point.

I was working one day in the Library of the Kentucky Society when Mrs. Cannon, the librarian, called my attention to an item in a current Frankfort paper concerning a visitor to the State Capitol on the previous day. He wanted to see the statue of Abraham Lincoln; he said he was a cousin of Lincoln, and gave the name of the county from which he came, and his own name as Sparrow.

I followed up this clue.

There is in Kentucky a county adjoining Mercer, which in former years sometimes returned a small Republican majority, while Mercer had more Democrats than she needed. A far-sighted Legislature, desiring to make two Democratic counties grow where formerly there was one, made what is known as "the cut-off," transferring a slice from one county to another, with the happy result that ever since both counties have been safely Democratic. In "the cut-off" I found the Sparrows.[1]

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[1] I am indebted for assistance to the Misses Mary A. and Martha Stephenson, of Harrodsburg, Rev. Louis A. Warren, of Zionsville, Indiana, and Honorable William H. Townsend, of Lexington.

The name Sparrow is not infrequent in Colonial history. It is found early in several sections of Virginia. One Captain Charles Sparrow was in the house of Burgesses in 1645, 1648, 1652, 1659-60 from Charles City district.[1] The families in which we are especially interested are found before the Revolution in Mecklenburg and Halifax, two adjacent counties in the south tier, adjoining the North Carolina line, and near the middle of that line between the states. The Census of 1790 shows Thomas Sparrow to have been a resident of Halifax County in 1782 and 1785, having a family of six persons, all white, in one dwelling and in 1785 a family of seven. In the same two years the family of John Sparrow was resident in the same county, having a family of seven in one dwelling.

The family whom we seek especially, however, is that of one James Sparrow, who was resident of Mecklenburg County as early as 1765, for there was born his eldest son Henry, October 9, 1765. The Census of 1790 gives us as resident in that county a James B. Sparrow with a family of eight and a James R. Sparrow with a family of ten, all white, in 1782.

The tax-lists of Mecklenburg County, Virginia, begin in 1782. In 1783 we have James Sparrow taxed with one slave, two horses and two head of cattle, and Bolling Sparrow with one slave and two head of cattle. In 1784 we have James W. Sparrow taxed with five horses and twelve cattle; and we find James R. Sparrow paying for Henry, Thomas and James Sparrow, presumably his sons. In the same year we have Bolen Sparrow taxed with one horse and two head of cattle and Bolling Sparrow taxed with three slaves, five horses and fourteen cattle. I infer that James R. Sparrow and James W. Sparrow are one and the same, the middle name of James W. being Wright, sometimes spelled with the initial R. In 1785 James Bolling Sparrow has three horses and fourteen cattle. In 1787 James Sparrow has one hundred and ninety acres of land and James Bowling Sparrow fifty acres of land. In 1788 James Sparrow is recorded as having "no land" and the same entry appears opposite the

[1] Stanard, *Register of Colonial Virginia*, pp. 65, 67, etc.

name of James Bolling Sparrow. After 1788 the name Sparrow disappears from the Mecklenburg County tax-lists.

My inference is that there were two James Sparrows, first cousins, one of them James Bowling Sparrow and the other, James Wright Sparrow, who seldom used his middle name except to distinguish himself from his cousin. James Wright Sparrow and James Bowling Sparrow removed to Mercer County, Kentucky, probably in 1788. James Wright Sparrow was the father of the Sparrows in whom we are interested, as is shown by his paying taxes in 1784 for his sons, Henry, Thomas and James Sparrow.

James Wright Sparrow died in Mercer County, Kentucky, in 1789. His will is of record thus:

> The noncupative will of James Sparrow, Decd., was produced in Court, Oct. 27, 1789, in the words and figures following:
>
> In the name of God, Amen, I James Sparrow of Mercer County, Caintucky, and province of Virginia, being of perfect mind and memory, do make this my last Will and Testament and dispose of what little afects God has blessed me with in Mercer following, that is to say lawful Debts to be paid faithfully discharged out of my personal Estate to my well beloved wife. I leave the rest of my personal estate to rease the childering and support herself and my land is to be divided first One hundred for my eldest son hendry, then the other three hundred to be divided equally to the other fore sons, Thomas, James, Peter and Dinny Sparrow. This is my last will and Testament here given under my hand this 18th day of May, 1789.
>
> And the same was proved by the oaths of Josiah Campbell, Henry Sparrow, and Judith Sparrow and Susannah Campbell to be the non-cupative will of the said James Sparrow Deceased and ordered to be recorded.

His "well beloved wife" is not named in the will, but we know that her name was Mary.

Was the deceased James R. Sparrow or James B. Sparrow? Quite certainly he was the former. His family was of the right size to have been that of James B. Sparrow, for in addition to his five sons

named, we know that there was a daughter, Bridget or Biddy, making a family of eight. He was not James B. Sparrow, for that man still lived. The family of ten of which we have record in Virginia in 1782 might have been reduced by the death of two children, or by the marriage of two daughters in Virginia, or by one marriage and one death. The other family of eight is large enough for any demands which we have thus far discovered in the Mercer County records. We may assure ourselves that the James Sparrow who died in 1789 in Mercer County was James W. or James R. Sparrow, formerly of Mecklenburg County, Virginia, where we know that the parents of Henry Sparrow were living when he was born in 1765, and where he was living when he enlisted in the Revolutionary War in the spring of 1781. He was twenty-four years of age when his father died, and, as the will affirms, he was the eldest son. If there were additional daughters, one or two, older, or a few years younger, they might have married in Virginia. As for the six children we shall have something to say, especially concerning Henry, the eldest son. On his father's death, Henry became the head of the family, and when Biddy, or Bridget, was married, by Rev. John Baily, March 5, 1790, (bond March 2, 1790) Henry signed as "Guardian." His mother's name, we are quite certain, was Mary, and she lived for some years after the death of her husband.

With the other James Sparrow, James B., we have less concern, and regarding him we have just enough information to make our search difficult. His middle name was Bowling, a name spelled Bollin, Bolin and otherwise. With a James Bowling Sparrow, and a James Bolling, and with more than one James Sparrow, and with much carelessness in recording names of peoples who could not write them, we should be forgiven if we make mistakes, but we desire to avoid them if we can.

James Bowling Sparrow appears to have had a daughter, Rebecca Bowling Sparrow, who married Peter Sparrow, son of the deceased James or James R., the bond of August 6, 1798, having besides Peter the bond as surety of James B. Sparrow. It must be understood that to all these documents the Sparrows and the Bowl-

ings make their marks. It is, however, a strange coincidence, that when, on November 19, 1800, Peter appears for a second marriage, this time to Milly Edwards, his bondsman is James Bowling.[1]

James Bowling married Nancy Ellcock, October 19, 1794, his bondsman being Thomas Sparrow. A James Bowling, probably a son, bought land on Doctor's Fork November 10, 1836, and he and his wife, Caroline, sold land, March 21, 1837.

But if the older James Bowling had been the younger James Sparrow, and had married Nancy Ellcock, we should think we were on safe ground; for Nancy Sparrow, widow, married Richard Elliott, according to the return of Rev. W. W. Hayes, in Nelson County, May 28, 1800. And it would seem that the younger James Sparrow, son of James W. Sparrow, had died, for we miss him out of the family about that time, and some years later, when his surviving brothers and sisters make a deposition and swear that they are the only surviving members of the family, there is no James among them. It appears, therefore, that the wife of the younger James Sparrow, as well as the wife of James Bowling, was a Nancy.

So far as we are able to judge, therefore, the documents are to be accepted as showing that there were among the pioneers to Mercer County, Kentucky, about 1788, a James W. or James R. Sparrow, who in his will is called James Sparrow, and whose middle initial for the name Wright is used only when necessary to distinguish him from his relative, James B. Sparrow, and a James Bowling Sparrow, who apparently had a son named for himself, and also a James Bowling who was a relative but not a Sparrow.

Our need of the original James B. Sparrow is slight. We have a Judith Sparrow to account for, and we may conjecture that she was his wife, for we are sure that he had a wife. We find Rebecca Bowling Sparrow, and have little doubt that she was his daughter. This family came from the same county with the Berrys and was in some way related to them. John Berry died in 1795. He left to his

[1] The repetition and similarities and variations of these names will illustrate the difficulty of such an investigation as this, where records are fragmentary and not well kept.

beloved wife, Anne, certain personal property, and the profits of two hundred acres of land. In a codicil he provided that of the land devised to his wife, fifty acres should be "for the use of James B. Sparrow, his life-time and his wife's." This may be taken to imply that James B. Sparrow and his wife, Judith, were aged people in 1795, and that John Berry made provisions thus for these relatives of his own or his wife's, assuming them to have been such.

With this preliminary survey of the Sparrows in Mercer County about the year 1790, we turn to the family that is of immediate concern to us, the children of James or James R. Sparrow, late of Mecklenburg County, Virginia, whose will in Mercer County, Kentucky, was proved October 27, 1789.

He had five sons and one daughter. The son James died, we know not when. He was probably the husband of the widow Nancy Sparrow who married John Elliott in 1800. His death and her marriage take them out of our line of investigation. The surviving children were the four sons, Henry, Thomas, Peter and Dennis, and the daughter Bridget or Biddy.

We now are able to shorten our story. Thomas and Henry Sparrow rode to the court-house in Harrodsburg on October 17, 1796, and gave bond for the marriage of Thomas to Elizabeth Hanks. The marriage bond has recently been discovered for the first time. But previous to this, Henry Sparrow had ridden thither on his own account accompanied by his brother-in-law, John Daniel, Biddy's husband, and swore out a marriage license for Henry Sparrow to marry Lucy Hanks. Lucy had no guardian. John Daniel certified that she was of age, and she herself, being the only one in either family who could write, left this little document:

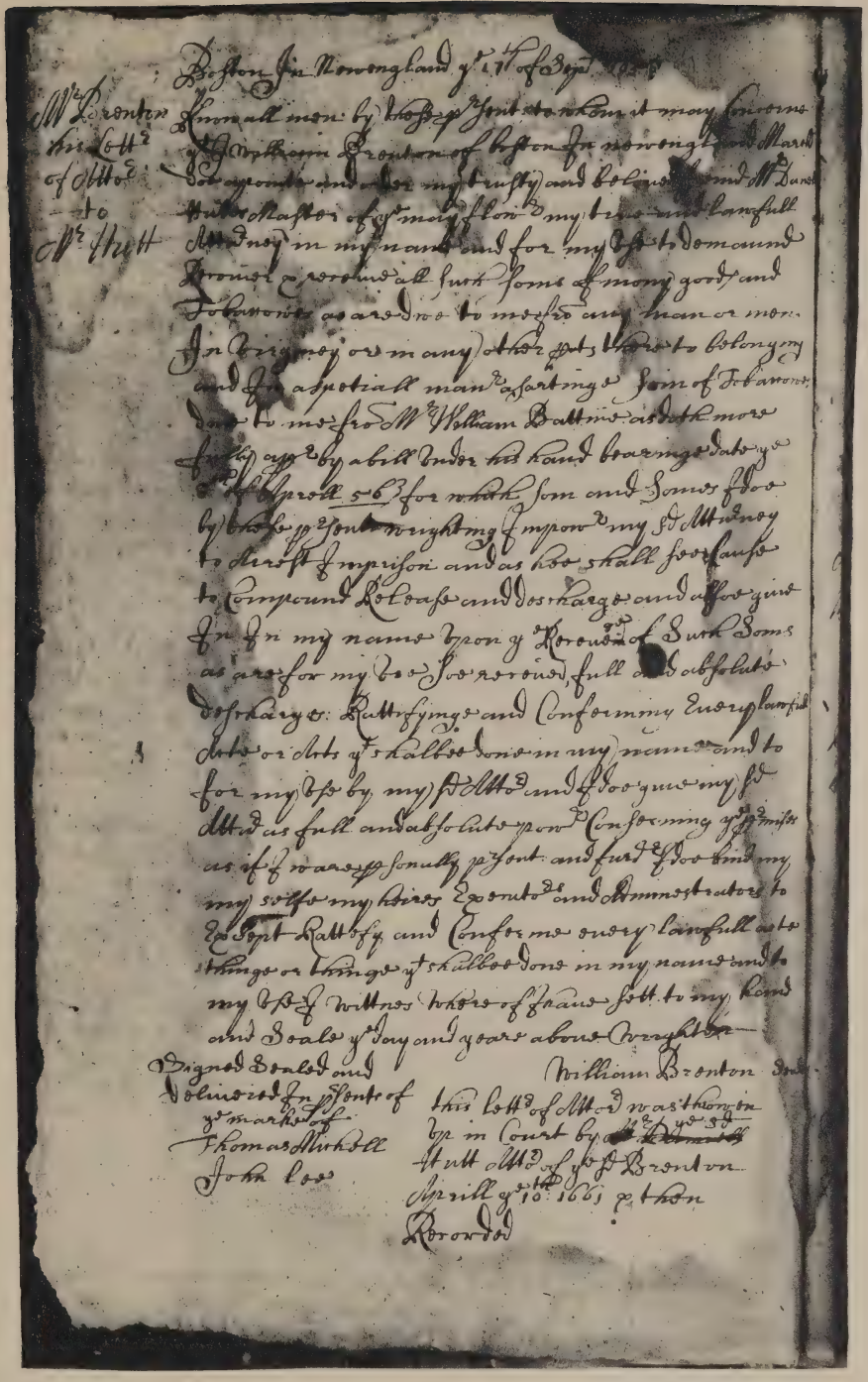
> I do certify that I am of age and give my approbation freely for Henry Sparrow to git out Lisons this day or any other day. Given under my hand this Apriel 26th day 1790.
>
> LUCEY HANKS.
>
> Attest—
> Robert Mitchell
> John Berry

They were married on April 30, 1790, by Rev. John Bailey, a Baptist preacher; and it is literally true that they lived happily ever afterward.

Some time in the year 1810, Samuel Crockett, of Mercer County, Kentucky, local enumerator for the United States Census, called at the farm of Henry Sparrow, and reported that he found resident there no black person, no person over forty-five years of age, but a male and a female each over twenty-six and under forty-five, two males and one female over sixteen and under twenty-six, two females and no male of ten and under sixteen, and three males and one female under ten, all white. This white list, which might have included a housemaid or a field hand, had in addition the persons of Henry Sparrow, his wife, Lucy Hanks Sparrow, and their eight children. If Nancy Hanks had not married Thomas Lincoln four years previous we might suppose that she was the female not yet twenty-six. We know the names of all the eight children, and while we do not know their ages with quite sufficient accuracy to place them individually in the foregoing lists, we know that there were four sons and four daughters, and so the extra person was probably a field hand.

But for our present purpose the value of this record is in the fact that at that date, neither Henry nor Lucy Sparrow had reached the age of forty-five. She was born, therefore, not earlier than 1765. Her husband was born in Mecklenburg County, Virginia, October 9, 1765, and if the census enumerator had called after October 9, 1810, Henry would have recorded his age as above forty-five. The date of his call, then, was before October ninth, which means that Lucy Hanks was not born before October 9, 1765. On April 26, 1790, Lucy Hanks declared herself to be above twenty-one years of age. She was born, therefore, before April 26, 1769. I think she was born in 1766.

She spent her first sixteen years on the old Hanks farm in Richmond County, and accompanied her family on its removal to Hampshire County. By subsequent division of both county and state, the



The Mayflower in Virginia
Westmoreland County Records

farm where the Hanks family lived in Hampshire is now in Mineral County, West Virginia. It is on Mike's Run, an attractive stream with a plebeian name, a tributary of Patterson's Creek.

I have told at length in *The Women Lincoln Loved* the story of her betrayal. I need not repeat here what I have related there, and I can safely relegate to the Appendix the documents on which that narrative is based. In only one thing would I care to make a change. I think that when Lucy's baby arrived Lucy was several months younger than I supposed when I wrote that book.

It was the fact that Lucy Hanks, his grandmother, gave birth to a child, his mother, Nancy Hanks, born out of wedlock, that made Abraham Lincoln abnormally sensitive about his family record. He might have felt the disgrace less keenly if he had known as well as we know how good a woman this girl became. Caught in the backwash of the Revolution, when religion and morality suffered a sad eclipse, she loved not wisely but too well. Whether the man who betrayed her was from the prosperous Hampshire County settlement on the South Branch, a settlement a generation older and possessed of much more wealth than Patterson's Creek, or whether her betrayal dated back to her residence among the Lees, the Tayloes and the Fontleroys, is not certain. Either is a possibility.

I am now inclined to the opinion that the father of Lucy's little daughter was not a Hampshire County man. Thomas Hanks, eldest son of Joseph, had preceded the family to Hampshire County, and Joseph followed him and took up land there, buying a portion of the survey of George Terry; but the estate of Catherine Hanks was still unsettled and the final accounting in the Richmond County Court was in December, 1782. The family was on Patterson's Creek before the end of that year, but I think it arrived very near the end. It is certainly possible, and appears to me increasingly to be probable, that when the Hanks family removed from Richmond County to Hampshire, Lucy carried under her heart the little girl that was to become the President's mother.

I am in constant receipt of inquiries as to who was the lover of

Lucy Hanks, and consequently the grandfather of Abraham Lincoln. I do not know, and if I knew I am not certain that I should tell. From the discoveries I have made that Thomas Hanks, eldest son of Joseph, preceded the family to Hampshire County, while Joseph appears to have remained to settle his mother's estate, I am now disposed to believe, as I have intimated elsewhere, that Lucy's betrayal did not occur in Hampshire County, though her baby was born there, but in the old home in Richmond County. I think Abraham Lincoln told the exact truth when he said that he was the grandson of Lucy Hanks by a well-bred Virginia planter of good mind, from whom he had inherited some of his best mental traits and aptitudes. Whoever wishes to formulate any more definite opinion may hire a motor-car at Warsaw, and with the old maps and deeds before him ride about the county and across into the edge of Westmoreland, the county line being a few miles distant. He will have choice of a great many eminent names.

Whatever uncertainty exists as to the place of Lucy's betrayal, her baby was born on Mike's Run of Patterson's Creek, probably late in 1783. In March, 1784, Joseph Hanks and his family mortgaged their farm for a sum pathetic in its meagerness and went to Kentucky. We know that for a time Lucy did not behave any too well there. Then she married Henry Sparrow, and a new and honorable chapter in her life began.

Something of this story I published in my *Life of Abraham Lincoln,* and something also in *The Women Lincoln Loved.* Not every reader likes this story, and because they do not like it, some people think that I ought not to have told it. My own conviction, however, is that it is the duty of an author to tell the truth.

A futile and fatuous attempt has been made to prove that Lucy Hanks was a widow when she married Henry Sparrow, and credulity has gone to far lengths in this abortive effort. The argument rests upon certain imaginary letters alleged to be prefixed to the word "day" in a document relating to her. By means of these nonexistent letters, the word "day" is transformed into "widow." Of

the five letters in one word and three in the other, one letter is common to the two words. There are no such letters in the document as this argument assumes, and, whatever may have been done to the reproduction, there was in the original, as it was carefully examined and twice reproduced by the camera, no scratch, blur, stain or erasure. No such letters or any others are there or ever were.

The argument as presented proves, if it proves anything, that if Joseph Hanks had had one more son than he actually had; and if that imaginary son had married an equally imaginary wife; and if her name had chanced to be Lucy; and if there had been born to them a daughter whose name chanced to be Nancy; and if this imaginary son had died leaving this imaginary widow and daughter; and if Henry Sparrow had married this Lucy Hanks instead of the Lucy Hanks whom he did marry; and if Thomas Lincoln had married this Nancy Hanks instead of the Nancy Hanks whom he actually wedded; and if some other things had been as they might possibly have been but were not; then, in the event of all of this, a number of things might have happened which did not actually occur.

But there was a widow, Lucy Hanks, and it will be instructive and possibly will prevent some future genealogical misadventure if she be now carefully distinguished from Lucy Hanks, mother of Nancy. I will give her lineage, or rather that of her husband.

We remember that William Hanks, carpenter, of Richmond County, Virginia, had these sons, William, Luke and John, and that John was the ancestor of the President. Luke, the middle son, had three children, Alexander, Lucretia and Turner. Turner married his cousin, Million or Millicent, and their children were Mary and Hannah. Million died, and by a second wife, Sarah, Turner had George, Luke, Raleigh, Pitman and Chichester. Luke remained in Richmond County and became the ancestor of the Hankses still resident there and of those who are in South Carolina. George, Pitman and Chichester went together to Kentucky, and from 1803 until 1835 their names and those of their descendants appear, with

such changes as were occasioned by deaths and births, in Franklin and Anderson Counties.

George Hanks married, October 6, 1791, Lucy Mildred Mitchell. George Hanks died, and so did his son George, the latter being killed in young manhood by a man named Grubbs. I mention him because it would have been chronologically possible for Lucy to have been the widow of the younger George, but she was not. The repetition of the names here is only an instance of the difficulty which one meets constantly in the Hanks family. George and Lucy named one of their daughters Lucy Mildred, but she, of course, did not become a widow Hanks.

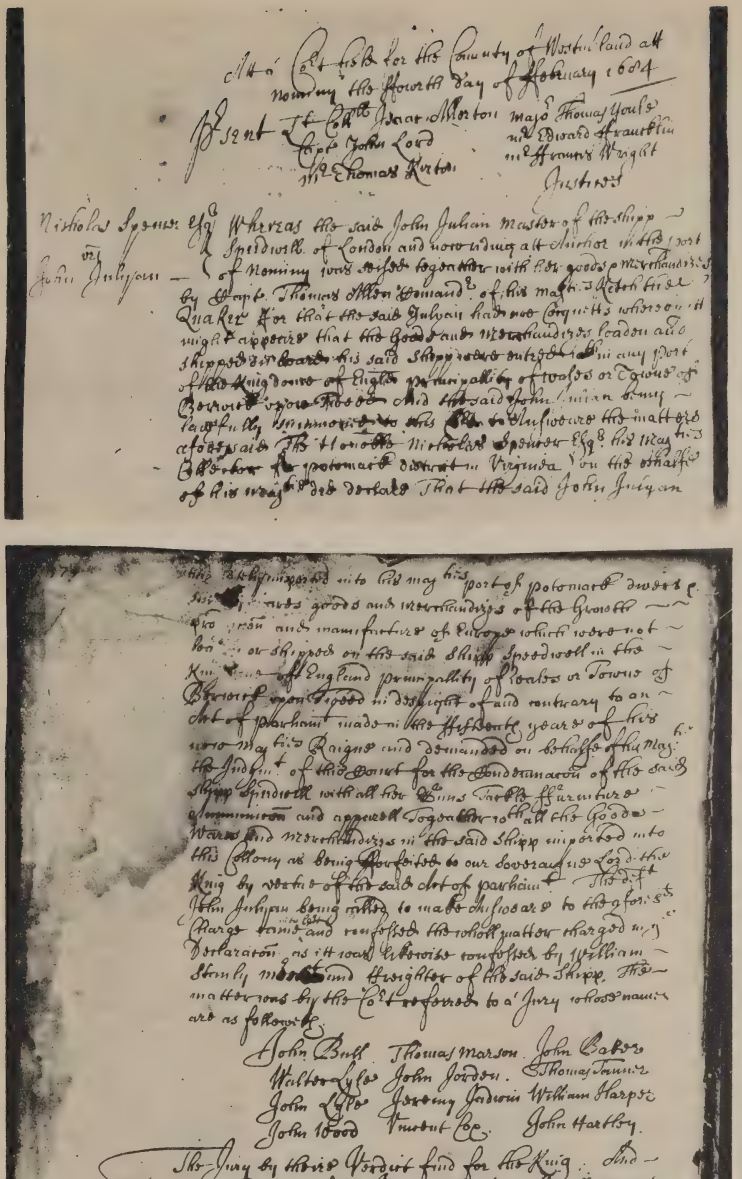
While the name Lucy was not one of the most common in the Hanks family, having been brought in, as in this case, usually by marriage, there was another Lucy Hanks in this same group of Franklin-Anderson County families. She was a daughter of Pitman and Elizabeth Hanks, and married Joseph Allen, the bond dated May 30, 1821. She was born in 1801 and died March 23, 1853. She is, of course, out of any possible consideration in our present inquiry, but deserves mention nevertheless.

The real "widow Lucy Hanks" is the widow of George, whose name appears on the tax-lists for many years after his decease. She did not marry Henry Sparrow, but remained a widow until her death. She is the only "widow Lucy Hanks" appearing in the records who is geographically or chronologically pertinent to our inquiry; and of her the only other thing that need be said is, that when she married George Hanks, October 6, 1791, Lucy Hanks, the mother of Nancy Hanks, had been for more than seventeen months, since April 30, 1790, the lawful wedded wife of Henry Sparrow.

This disposes, I hope for ever, of the "widow Lucy Hanks" conjecture; and the good man who laboriously invented it ought to have been in better business.

Lucy Sparrow, the only Lucy Sparrow in whom we are interested, became the mother of Nancy Hanks in 1783, and seven years later married Henry Sparrow.

Did Henry rue his choice? He had no reason to do so. Lucy made



The Speedwell of London at anchor in the Potomac
Westmoreland County Records

him a loyal and capable wife. She bore him eight children, four sons, James, Thomas, Henry, George, and four daughters, Elizabeth, Lucinda or Lucy, Peggy and Polly. All lived and grew up and married. Their great-grandchildren, and a few of their grandchildren, and a multitude of their great-great-grandchildren, still live in close proximity to the old farm. They are much inbred, and do not appear to have suffered intellectually or physically from the constant marriage of first cousins. I have met one stalwart young man of twenty-one who is descended by four distinct lines from Henry and Lucy. Apparently Lucy died about 1825, aged about sixty. Her husband lived for nineteen years after her death. It would be good to know that Henry and Lucy were permitted to end their days together. Apparently Lucy died before July 31, 1827, for on that day bond was executed for the marriage of Henry Sparrow to Rhoda Johnson, sister of Jacob Johnson, who signed as Henry's surety, and certified that his sister was of age. They deeded land to Jacob Johnson January 23, 1832.

Henry Sparrow was the eldest son of James Wright Sparrow. His mother's name was Mary. He was born, as stated in his application for pension, made September 2, 1833, in Mecklenburg County, Virginia, October 9, 1765. He served as a private in Captain Thomas Shipp's company, Colonel William Mumford's regiment, as a soldier in the Revolutionary War. His pension, issued January 3, 1833, was for twenty dollars a month, dating from March 4, 1831. The last payment, to September 4, 1840, was receipted for, September 17, 1840, Henry signing by mark. He may be presumed to have died before March 4, 1841.

Lucy Hanks in all the years of her married life, read her Bible, and lived virtuously and well, and brought up her large family in honesty and piety, two of her sons, James and Henry, being ministers of the Gospel.

Her descendants are innumerable, and they are honest, law-abiding, God-fearing people. Most of them voted in 1860 and 1864 for their kinsman, Abraham Lincoln, and several of them who served in the Union Army lie buried in graves that are decorated annually

on Memorial Day in the old Sparrow Union Cemetery, near the church where Rev. Henry Sparrow, son of Henry and Lucy, and half-uncle of Abraham Lincoln, preached and prayed for the Union all through the Civil War, and where he and his faithful wife Ailsy lie buried.

The Hanks family was not the illustrious clan of super-royal lineage described by Mrs. Hitchcock. It was a commonplace family, migratory and illiterate, an "undistinguished or second family" as Abraham Lincoln said. But it was not a vicious family. It had no criminal record whatever; and cases of sexual irregularity, while not unknown in it, were the exception and not the rule. Moreover, such irregularities did not permanently continue in the lives of those members who occasionally displayed the weakness of human flesh in this regard. The family was not an occasion of pride to Lincoln, but if he had known all that we know—and we know much more about its history than he knew—he need not have felt it a disgrace. It was a decent, humble, honest clan, with no marked abnormalities. It was a family of neither drunkards nor degenerates. It was not degraded; it simply was not graded up.

It was a religious family—of the emotional type well known on the frontier. That religion, for its time and need, is lightly spoken of only by those who view it from the outside without intimate knowledge of frontier conditions. The Hankses, like the Sparrows, Friends and Lincolns, were old-school Baptists,[1] but in later generations they became more diversified in their denominational adherence.

I have another autobiographical letter of Dennis Hanks furnished me by this grandson, J. D. Shoaff, of Paris, Illinois. In this letter Dennis has this to say of Lucy Hanks Sparrow:

> Abe was a very good Boy and an honest man. So was his father, Thomas Lincoln before him. His mother's mother

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[1] I refer to my *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln* published in 1920, by George H. Doran Company of New York, for discussion of the religion of the frontier.

Belong to the Baptist Church, a Christian Lady in every Respect.

It remains to say a word about Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow. They assumed the care of their unfortunate nephew, Dennis, and their niece, Nancy. When the latter married Thomas Lincoln and moved to Nolin Creek, they were near her: and Elizabeth was almost certainly present when Abraham Lincoln was born. They followed her to Indiana, and were to her as parents. The neighbors who knew them in life and buried them when they died never doubted that Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow were in fact her father and mother.[1]

To that same neighborhood removed also Levi Hall and Nancy, his wife. They arrived in time to be stricken with the same fatal malady that carried off Nancy Hanks Lincoln and her foster parents. The five all died within a few days of one another.

Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow had no children of their own. After their death, Dennis Hanks returned from Indiana to Kentucky and entered suit for their land, claiming to be their heir-at-law. His claim was settled out of court. After some years the Sparrow brothers, Henry, Peter and Dennis, and their sister Biddy, who then was married to her second husband, Joseph Painter, entered suit, and in their affidavits testified that Thomas and Elizabeth never had any children of their own.

Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow, who took and reared as their own daughter their little niece, Nancy Hanks, who obtained for her a better education than they themselves possessed, and who followed her with affectionate and parental interest all her life, were faithful unto death.

Providence left them childless that they might nourish as their own their nephew, Dennis, and their niece, Nancy. To their devoted care the world owes something of the character which Nancy Hanks transmitted to her son, Abraham Lincoln.

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[1] On this point see Herndon and also Nicolay and Hay.

CHAPTER X

Nancy Hanks Lincoln

It is not likely that Abraham Lincoln knew his mother's birthday. We are not at liberty to suppose that that anniversary was celebrated either in the Lincoln home or the earlier household of the Hankses. More than once he told the date of his father's birth, but all he said about his mother in that regard was that when she married Thomas Lincoln she was in her twenty-third year. This means that she was born not earlier than June 12, 1783, nor later than June 11, 1784. We may be almost certain, I think, that this event occurred in 1783. Lea and Hutchinson, on what they counted good authority, gave the date as February 5, 1784. If we had previously known this to be the date, their saying so might reasonably cause us to ask for proof.

Her grandparents, in whose home her mother then lived, migrated to Kentucky when Nancy was a baby, and she went thither in her mother's arms. Until about a year after the death of her grandfather, Joseph Hanks, which occurred in Nelson County in 1793, she lived in the home of her grandparents. Her grandmother, Ann Hanks, returned to Virginia and spent her last years there, and Nancy went to live with her mother, who had married Henry Sparrow. There she took the name of Sparrow, and continued to be known under that name when she went to live with her uncle and aunt, Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow. These became her parents. They gave her the best educational advantages they could command, and she seemed to her relatives to be a young woman of unusual mental capacity and of quite remarkable intellectual attainment.

Out of the most apocryphal traditions concerning her youth, all of them highly complimentary, this seems to be well established, that she became skilled as a seamstress, and was employed by some of the more prosperous families in Mercer County. It is not likely that Nancy Hanks suffered much from the ridicule or contempt of her playmates on account of her lack of a father. By the time she was old enough to understand the situation, her mother was married to Henry Sparrow, and Nancy was known by that name, which her subsequent residence with Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow confirmed. She suffered as a sensitive child and woman must suffer of inward sorrow, but the Hankses were a family who held together and kept the family secrets well. Her Indiana neighbors never suspected that Thomas and Betsy Sparrow were not her parents. As for the numerous descendants of Lucy Hanks Sparrow, they do, indeed, know that she was the mother of a daughter whose name was Nancy Hanks, but they neither know nor inquire how that came to be so. They can not be said to have a tradition that she had previously married a man named Hanks; they simply do not raise any questions, and if the question is raised, they offer that suggestion as a possible explanation. Lucy completely outlived the memory of her youthful indiscretion, and Nancy suffered only in spirit.

I was fortunate in making my inquiries in Mercer County before the dim traditions had been tampered with. Memories of Nancy Hanks, or Nancy Sparrow, the seamstress, had been recalled during the Civil War when her son was in the White House, and as handed down by those who heard them they were still sufficiently distinct to have apparent value. They dimly disclosed an attractive young woman, intelligent and of pleasing disposition, who was treated as a social equal in the families where she plied her vocation, sitting with the families at table, and sharing their conversation. If these stories had been made for the occasion, they would have been more distinct; their vagueness was so far forth a mark of their probable genuineness. The important thing is that these traditions were all of a virtuous and highly respectable young

woman, pleasantly remembered by those who had known her long years before they had occasion to tell of her.

The following incident, furnished to William H. Herndon in August, 1865, by John B. Helm, then of Missouri but earlier of Elizabethtown, Kentucky, has been accepted by many as a veritable part of the life-story of Nancy Hanks Lincoln:

> The Hanks girls were great at camp-meetings. I remember one in 1806. I will give you a scene, and if you will then read the books written on the subject you may find some apology for the superstition that was said to be in Abe Lincoln's character. It was a camp-meeting as before said, when a general shout was about to commence. Preparations were being made; a young lady invited me to stand on a bench by her side where we could see all over the altar. To the right a strong athletic young man, about twenty-five years old was being put in trim for the occasion which was done by divesting him of all apparel except shirt and pants. On the left a young lady was being put in trim in much the same manner, so that her clothes would not be in the way, and so that when her combs flew out her hair would go into graceful braids. She, too, was young, not more than twenty perhaps. The performance commenced about the same time by the young man on the right and the young lady on the left. Slowly and gracefully they worked their way toward the center, singing, shouting, hugging and kissing, generally their own sex, until at last nearer and nearer they came. The center of the altar was reached, and the two closed with their arms around each other, the man singing and shouting at the top of his voice,
>
> I have my Jesus in my arms
> Sweet as honey strong as bacon ham.
>
> Just at this moment the young lady holding to my arm whispered, "They are to be married next week, her name is Hanks." They were very few who did not believe this true religion, inspired by the Holy Spirit, and the man who could not believe it, did well to keep it to himself. The Hankses were the finest shouters and singers in the country.

In 1920 I gave reasons, in *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln,* for be-

Mike's Run Spring

Site of Cabin

Photos copyright by Coyd Yost, and used by his courtesy

Mike's Run, birthplace of Nancy Hanks,
mother of Abraham Lincoln

lieving that this could not have been Nancy Hanks Lincoln. Mr. Warren has discovered that John B. Helm was only nine years old in 1806. But I discovered in the Huntington Library the Lamon copy of the Herndon papers, and find that Herndon made a mistake of ten years. The camp-meeting which Helm attended was not in 1806 but in 1816. We shall have to eliminate that incident from the biography of the mother of Abraham Lincoln.

Nancy Hanks married Thomas Lincoln in Washington County June 12, 1806. The marriage was in the home of Richard Berry, second in a long line of Richard Berrys. His wife was Polly Ewing, a Mercer County girl, and a friend of Nancy. In *The Women Lincoln Loved,* I have described the marriage, as well as I knew how, and have raised the interesting question whether Henry Sparrow and his wife Lucy were not probably present in the capacity of uncle and aunt. I need not repeat any part of the description here.

The story of her married life is adequately covered for the purpose of this book in the chapter that tells of the life of her husband. She died in Spencer County, Indiana, October 5, 1818. William H. Herndon in 1865 obtained from an eye-witness this account of her last illness:

> She struggled on, day by day, a good Christian woman, and died on the seventh day after she was taken sick. Abe and his sister Sarah waited on their mother, and did the little jobs and errands required of them. There was no physician nearer than thirty-five miles. The mother knew that she was going to die, and called the children to her bedside. She was very weak, and the children leaned over while she gave her last messages. Placing her feeble hand on little Abe's head, she told him to be good and kind to his sister; to both she said, Be good to one another, expressing a hope that they might live, as they had been taught by her, to love their kindred and worship God.[1]

The sickness from which Mrs. Lincoln died, known as "the milk-sick," was then believed, and is now known, to be communicated

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[1] Herndon's *Lincoln,* 1st Ed., Vol. I: p. 27.

through milk, contaminated by wild snakeroot, whose foliage, late in the season, when more agreeable verdure is lacking, is eaten by cattle. It tends to disappear with the advance of cultivation, but even now national and state boards of agriculture are publishing pamphlets fully describing the weed and calling upon farmers to protect their cattle by killing the plant. Sporadic cases occur now and then, but it rarely becomes epidemic.

To Dennis Hanks we owe the fact that we are able to identify the grave of the President's mother. In his correspondence with Herndon, and in answer to Herndon's interrogatories, he declared that Nancy Hanks Lincoln, her father and mother, as he called them, Thomas and Nancy Sparrow, and her uncle and aunt, the latter the mother of Dennis, Levi and Nancy Hanks Hall, were all buried in one group somewhat apart from the other graves on the wooded knoll where now the State Park is maintained. On his testimony the grave was located and inclosed in an iron fence.

Experienced grave-diggers affirm that when the soil has once been disturbed by the digging of a grave, it is never possible to replace the earth in such fashion as to conceal the fact that a grave is or has been there. The improvement of the grounds around the central group of graves in the picturesque little cemetery near Lincoln City has abundantly confirmed the statement of Dennis. Other graves are near at hand, but in that group are five and no more. The removal of the surface soil for the erection of the two monuments and the laying of the gravel walks has proved the essential accuracy of the memory of Dennis Hanks with regard to the graves of Nancy Hanks Lincoln, Levi and Nancy Hall and Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow. They are all in one group, and the other graves, while near, are not adjacent or so located that there could well be any mistake.

According to the custom then and still prevalent among the Baptists in the Kentucky backwoods, the funeral sermon was preached several months afterward. This was not solely or even primarily because of the scarcity of ministers, though there was such scarcity,

but because of a strong conviction on the part of leaders in that denomination that funerals at death were unscriptural in character. The records of the early Kentucky associations show much discussion on this point.[1]

Nancy Hanks was tall, slender and of dark complexion. Her features in repose tended to melancholy, but lighted up with vivacity on occasion. She was habitually cheerful. She and her husband were members of the Little Mount Baptist Church in Kentucky, from which organization her husband took a letter when the Little Pigeon Church was formed in Indiana, but that was after her death. Her family, who had been of the Established Church in early Virginia, had become lax in the observance of infant baptism, and whatever we find of religion in her later antecedents is of the Baptist sort. The same is true of the Lincolns, though the forms of the Established Church sat very lightly on the inhabitants of the Shenandoah Valley. When they chose a religion of their own, both the Lincolns and the Hankses were Baptists. The Primitive Baptist Church was the background of Lincoln's religious experiences.

The very marked tendency in American biography to magnify out of all due proportion the influence of mothers on the career of great men has gone to great lengths in the case of Nancy Hanks Lincoln, and not much that has been said and written about her rests on any adequate foundation. But whatever we know of Abraham Lincoln's mother is good, and we have every reason to think of her as a noble woman, worthy to have been, as she was, the mother of a truly great man.

Abraham Lincoln was speaking of heredity when he said, "God bless my mother. All that I am or hope to be I owe to her." It was, however, of her own character that he spoke when he said that, however unpromising her early surroundings might have been, "she was highly intellectual by nature, had a strong memory, accurate judgment, and was cool and heroic."

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[1] Of funerals in the backwoods I have treated somewhat at length in *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln.*

PART THREE

The Documents

I. THE ENGLISH LINCOLNS

A. THE LINCOLNS OF OLD HINGHAM

On several visits I have personally examined the records of Hingham, Norfolk, England. I acknowledge the courtesy of the rector and especially of his brother, Rev. F. Bentley Greeves, who undertook for me a thorough search of the Hingham Church Registers. I have compared these carefully with those given by Lea and Hutchinson, and have supplied some omissions from their list. Where names and dates vary, I have preferred those of Mr. Greeves.—W. E. B.

1600

Richard Lyncolne, the sone of Edward Lyncolne, was baptized the XX daie of Septeber.

Annes Lincolne, the daughter of Hugh Lincolne, was baptized the XV daie of Marche.

1601

Willm Lyncolne was buried the [illegible] daie of June.

Roberte Lincolne, the sone of George Lincolne, was baptized the XVIII daie of October.

Robert Lincolne and Annes Bore [?], maried XVIII daie of October.

1603

Roberte Lincolne and Annes Harman were maried the VII daie of Noveber.

Alice Lincolne the daughter of Roberte Lincolne was baptized the foresaid [i. e. February 19] daie.

1605

Judeth Lincolne, the daughter [of] Hughe Lincolne was baptized the foresaid [August 18] daie.

Richard Lincolne and Alice Howse were married the XX daie of October.

1606

Sarah, daughter of Edward Lincon, bapt. 13th daie of April.

Anthonie Lincon son of George Lincon was bapt; ye 17th of August.

William Lincon, son of Robt. Lincon was baptized the second of November.

John Lincon, ye son of Richard Lincon, was bapt: ye 14th of November.

John Lincon, the sonn of Richard Lincon was Buried the seaventh of December.

1607

Marye Lincolne, the daughter of Richard Lincolne, was baptized the first day of November.

Elizabeth Lincolne, daughter of Richard Lincolne, was baptized the twentye daye of December.

Note. There were two, or even three, Richard L's, one being Richard L. of Norwood. See infra. F. B. G.

Elizabeth Lincolne, daughter of Richard Lincolne, was buried the one and twentye of Januarye.

1608

Richard Lincolne, sonn of Richard Lincolne, was baptized the Thirteene daye of November.

Abigall Lincolne, the daughter of Robert Lincolne, was baptized the twenty daye of November.

1610

John Lincoln, sonne of Richard Lincolne, was baptized the same daye [i. e. May 20].

Anna Lincolne, daughter of Robt. Lincolne, was bapt: the same daye [i. e. Aug. 12].

Elizabeth Lincolne, daughter of Richard Lincolne, was baptised ye 17 of February.

1611

John, the sonne of Robert Lincolne, was baptised the 15 daye of March.

William Godfreye and Ann Lincolne, married 2 daye of November.

1612

Grace, the daughter of Richard Lincolne, was bapt: the 14 of June.

1613

Peter, the sonne of Richard Lincolne, was baptised the 31 daye of Julye.

1614

Marget, the daughter of Robert Lincolne, was bapt; ye twelceth of June.

Robert, the sonne of Richard Lincolne, was baptised the second daye of October.

Alice Lincolne, was buried, the nynetteene daye of Julye.

Robert the sonne of Richard Lincolne, was buried the fift of October.

Note. Mother of the brothers?

1615

Ann, the daughter of Richard Lincolne, was baptised the 22 of October.

Robert, the sonne of Edward Lincolne, was baptised the nyneteen of November.

Marget, the daughter of Robert Lincolne, was baptised the [3rd of March] same daye.

Marget, the daughter of Robert Lincolne, was buried the 15 of Julye.

1616

Richard Lincolne was buried the one and twentye of October.

1617

Marge, the daughter of Richard Lincolne, was baptised the 26 of Julye.

Katherine, the daughter of Robert Lincolne, was baptised the first of Februarye.

John Lincolne, was buried the three and twentye daye of March.

1618

Mary, daughter of Richard Lincoln, was baptised the 30 daye of Maye.

Thomas Balding and Alice Lincoln, were married the 14 daye of August.

1619

Daniell, the sonne of Edward Lincoln, was baptised the twenty-eight of March.

Pieke, the sonne of Richard Lincolne, was baptised the second of Maye.

Abigall, the daughter of Robert Lincolne, was buried the seaven of June.

1620

Robert, the sonne of Robert Lincolne, was baptised the 27 of August.

Adam, the sonne of Richard Lincolne, was baptised the 28 day of Januarye.

Robert, the sonne of Robert Lincolne, was buried ye twenty-fift day of November.

Richard Lincolne, was buried the three and twentyth day of December.

Note. A Richard L. had been buried in 1616 (see above), but there was still another Richard or two left to carry on the family.

1621

William, the sonne of Richard Lincolne, was baptised the tenth of Januarye.

1622

Samuell, the sonne of Edward Lincolne, was baptised the 24 daye of August.

Marget, the daughter of Richard Lincolne of Norwoode was baptised the 16 of Februarye.

Note. Richard L. of Norwoode.

1623

Robert, the sonne of Robert Lincolne, was baptised the 28 of June.

1624

Robert Lincolne, was buried the second daye of Aprill.

1625

Amye, the daughter of Edward Lincolne, was bapt; the 11 daye of December.

Ann, the daughter of Robert Lincolne, was bapt, the 19 daye of Februarye.

Richard Lincolne, and Frances Raynolds, were maried the 14 of August.

Elizabeth the wife of Richard Lincolne, butcher, was buried the third of Maye P. T. O.

Margery Lincolne, widow, buried the 7 daye of June.

Edinge Lincolne, widdowe, was buried the 22 daye of julye.

Amye, the wife of Hughe Lincolne, was buiried the Nynth of September.

Hughe Lincolne, was buiried, the 21 daye of september.

Note. This was of course not a posthumous child of the Robert L. buried in the April of the previous year which would be nearly two years before February, 1625; so there must have been at least two Roberts. (F. B. G.)

1626

Richard, son of Richard Lincoln, bapt. 9 April.

William Lincolne and Elizabeth Wellam marr: 14 September.

James Baldinge and Alice Lincolne marr: 23 January.

Amy, daughter of Edward Lincoln, buried 17 June.

Agnes Lincoln, widow, buried 11 July.

1627

Arthur Cogman and Dorothy Lincolne Marr: 6 November.

1628

Richard, son of Robert Lincoln, bapt. 13 April.

1630

George, son of Robert Lincoln, bapt. 1 August.

Willaim Lincolne and Susan Wryghte marr: 30 January.

1631

Susan, daughter of William Lincolne, bapt. 26 May.

1632

John Lincolne and Alice Staveleye marr: 11 October.

1633

John, son of John Lincoln, bapt. 27 May.

1634

Bridget, daughter of Robert Lincoln, bapt. 7 September.

1635

Robert, son of John and Alice Lincoln, bapt. 26 October.

1636

Edward Lincolne and Mary Porter marr: 19 May.

1637

Richard, son of Richard and Mary Lincoln, bapt. 4 March.
John Woodcock & Elizabeth Lincolne marr: 31 August.
Henry Barnewell & Ann Lincolne marr: 18 October.

1638

Dorothy, daughter of John & Alice Lincoln, bapt. 23 November.

1639

Susan, daughter of Robert & Ann Lincoln, bapt. 17 November.
Richard Lincoln, butcher, buried 15 October.
Frances Lincoln, widow, buried 28 October.
Edward Lincoln, the elder, buried 11 February.

1640

Susan, daughter of John & Alice Lincoln, bapt. 31 January.
Richard Lincoln, brewer, buried 15 August.

1641

Daniel, son of Robert & Martha Lincoln, bapt. 5 September.
Susan Lincoln buried 15 April.

1642

The records for this entire year are missing.

1643

Rebecca, daughter of Edward Lincoln, bapt. 28 May.
Mary & Rebecca, daughters of Edward Lincoln, buried 12 July.

1644

Ann, wife of Robert Lincoln, buried 28 December.
Mary, daughter of Edward Lincoln, bapt. 5 January.

1645

Richard, son of Pyke Lincoln, bapt. 8 March (1644-5) and buried 27 March.
Mary, daughter of Richard Lincoln, bapt. 18 December.

B. THE LINCOLNS OF SWANTON-MORLEY

The records at Swanton-Morley have been examined by me with reasonable care, but my searches have been greatly assisted through the courtesy of the rector, the Rev. G. D. Bury, who has made for me the following list.—W. E. B.

Baptisms

A. D.

1569 *Maria Lincolne,* baptizat, erat decimo nono die mensis Martii.
Margareta Lincolne, baptiz. erat esds [?] Eoku. [?] 'proconscripts. die. proponfreyto [?] [? on same day aforementioned.]

1571 *Brigitta Lincolne,* baptizat, eodo [?] die. From previouse entry in the same year, the date was vicesius Testo die mensis Augusti.

1572 *Civilia* [*Cecilia*] *Lincolne,* baptizat erat decimus sons die mensis Octobris.

1576 *Thomas,* filius Johnis Lincolne, baptizat erat incesius Septimus Junii.

1578 *William,* filius Johnis Lincolne, baptizat, erat decimo quinto die mensis, Decembis.

1580 *Robtus,* filius Johnis Lincolne, baptizat erat decimo septimus die Novembris.

1581 [?] *Franciscus,* filius, [filius is scratched out, and filia written over it.] Johie Lincolne, baptizat erat quarto die Februarii.

1583 *Anna* filia Johnis Lincolne, baptizat erat quinto die mensis October.

1585 *Ricardus,* filius Johis Lincolne, baptizat, erot incerious prious die February.

1588 *Catherina,* [?] filia Johnis Lincolne baptizat. Erat esdo die pdicto. [—prodicto.] (i. e. primoldie Septembris, asstetedin previous entryiu Requieter.)

1590 *Susanna,* filia Johnis Lincolne, baptizat erat unicerinus uono die mortii.

1595 *Chrictofems,* (Xpoferus;) spurius Mariae Lincolne, baptizat, erat vicesiuno ptimi die morty.

1597 *Johnes,* filius Thomae Lincolne, baptizat erat unicesimo sexto die February.

1599 *Ann,* ye daughter of Richard Lincolne, was christiened ye sixt of May.

1600 *Thomas,* ye sone of Thomase Lincolne the XXVIII [?] of December.

1602 *William,* the Sone of Thomes Lincolne, the XXViii [?] of ye same month. [*i. e.* September.]

1602 *Elizabeth,* the daughter of Richard Lincolne, the [no date] of November.

A. D.

1603 *Robert,* the sone of Thomas Lincolne, the XIXth of February.

1605 *Henry,* the sonne of Richard Lincoln, the XXIII of June.

1606 *Richard,* the [sic] sonne of Thomas Lincolne, the second of Feb.

1610 *Ann,* Ye daughter of Thomas Lincolne, ye first of June.

1612 *Alice* [?] the daughter of Thomase Lincolne, the Vth of July.

1615 *Henry,* the sonne of Thomas Lincolne, the XXVIth of December.

1633 *Ann,* the daughter of Elizabeth Lincolne, was baptized the 10th [?] day of July.

1637 *Richard Lincolne,* the son of Richard Lincolne and [?] Mary, [Margaret] his wife was baptized . . . [An erasure has obscured the date] of January.

1640 *William,* the son of Richard Lincolne and Margaret, his wife, was baptized the 16th of June.

1640 *Henry,* the son of Henry Lincolne and of Mary, his wife, was baptized the 18th day of August.

1641 *Richard,* the sonne of Henry Lincolne was baptized the 2d day of November.

1642 *Anne,* the daughter of Henry Lincolne was baptized the [no date] of March.

1643 *Thomas,* the sonne of Richard Lincolne, was baptized the [no date] of April.

1645 *Maria,* filia Henrici Lincolne, bapti 21th December.

1646 *Johes,* filius Richardi Lincolne, bapt. 18th Aprilii.

1647 *Richardus,* filius Henrici Lincolne, bapt, 3" May.

1648 *Dorothea,* filia Henrici Lincolne, bapt fuit 17 of Obr. [October?]

1650 *Thomas,* fil Henrici Lincolne, bap. 19th Octobris.

1652 *William;* the sonne of Richard Lincolne and Jane his wife, was baptized the 14th of Octbr. [?]

1652 *Joseph,* the sonne of Henery, [sic] Lincolne, and Mary his wife, was baptized the 14th of Octbr. [?]

1660 *Charles,* the sonn of Richard Lincolne was baptized the 23 of September.

1661 *Mary,* the daughter of Henry Lincolne, bapt, 17 Novemb.

1669 *Eli.* ye Daughter of Tho. Lincolne and Marg. his wife, bapt. Febru. the 14th.

1671 *Margaret,* ye daughter of Thos. Lincolne, and Margaret his wife, was baptized Jan [?] 10. [Date illegible.]

1673 *Ricordus,* filine Thomas Lincolne et Margaretae, wxon's, baptd. Feb. 26.

A. D.

1675 *Ricordus,* filine Thomae Lincolne, et Margaretoe wxon's, baptd. Jan. 15.

Note. The last two entries give the child's name as Ricardus, the parents being the same in both cases.

Marriage

Thomas Lincolne and Margaret Howlet were married 10th October.

Burials

A. D.

1557 *Johes Lincolne,* sepult, erat quinto die martii.
1558 *William Lincolne,* sepult, erat vicesimo octova Nocembris.
1559 *Hennare Lincolne,* sepult, erat vicesimo quinto die Septembris.
1570 *Margareta Lincolne,* sepult erat nous die Aprilis.
1589 *William Lincolne,* sepult, erat decimus septimo die Septembris.
1590 *Elizabeth,* uxor Johes Lincolne, sepult, erat vicesimo octavo die Martii.
1593 *Elizabeth Lincolne,* widuo sepult, erat tertis die Decembris.
1607 *Richard,* the sone of Thomas Lincolne, the XXyth of May.
1608 *Elizabeth,* the daughter of Thomas Lincolne, was buried the XXIIth of [erased in register] April.
1614 *Thomas Lincolne,* ye XVIIth of December.
1616 *Henry,* the sonne of Thomas Lincolne, the XVth of August.
1630 *Robert Lincolne* was buried the first [?] [sixth] of February.
1636 *Anne Lincolne,* the wife of Richard Lincolne, was buried the [date illegible] of December.
1643 *Anne,* the daughter of Henry Lincolne, was buried the 28th day of Aprill.
1645 *Richuardo,* fil, Hen. Lincolne, Sept. 29 burry.
1649 *Guliemue Lincolne,* filine Richartue Lincolne, Sepult 5 July.
1649 *Margaret,* wxor Richardi Lincolne, Sept. XXIIth Febry.
1660 *Richard Lincolne,* was buried the 22th day of Jannanario.
1662 *Elizabeth,* the daughter of Henry Lincolne, buried the 5th of June.
1664 *Mary,* the daughter of Henry Lincolne, was buried the 7 Sept.
1664 *Mary,* the wife of Henry Lincolne, burred the 5th of January.
1667 *Henry Lincolne,* sen [?] was buried the 22th of July.
1671 *Jane Linckold,* daughter of Thomas Linckold, buried December. 7.
1672 *Margaret Lincolne,* soluta, sepulta fuit July 28. [Almost obliterated.]

C. THE LINCOLNS OF GREAT YARMOUTH

I searched the parish records of Great Yarmouth for births only. At the time of my search I was confident I should discover that Samuel Lincoln, the American emigrant, was born and baptized in this parish. Failing to find a record of his birth, I requested the Canon, Rev. R. Aubrey Aitken, to go over the ground again, and he furnishes me the following list from 1610-1626.—W. E. B.

Baptismal Record

A. D.

1610 *Judith* daughter of Robert and Prudence Nov. 18.
1611 *Alice* d. of Richard and Margaret Aug. 21.
1611 *Matthew* son of John and Katherine Oct. 13.
1612 *Amey* dau. of William and Sara June 24.
1612 *Bridget* dau of Robert and Prudence May 10.
1613 *Elizabeth* dau of Robert and Prudence March 2.
1614 *Alice* dau of John and Katherine Dec. 11
1614 *Alice* dau of [illegible] June 19.
1615 *William* son of Richard and Margaret April 10.
1618 *Andrew* ditto Jule 19
1621 *Susan* dau of John and Mary Aug. 12
1623 *Edward* [?] son of John and Mary March 30
1623 *Elizabeth* dau of Robert and Elizabeth Jan. 10
1624 *Mary* dau of John and Mary Jan 3.
1625 *Myles* son of Robert and Elizabeth March 15
1626 *Robert* son of Richard and Margaret April 3.
1626 *John* son of John and Mary April 23.

Note that John and Mary presented children March 30, 1623, and January 3, 1624, —less than ten months.

In this period of sixteen years children were born to these couples:

1. Robert and Prudence
2. Richard and Margaret
3. John and Katherine
4. William and Sara
5. John and Mary
6. Robert and Elizabeth.

II. LINCOLN DEEDS

A. MORDECAI AND MARY LINCOLN TO MARY ROGERS

This Indenture made the 29th day of March in the year of our Lord 1773 between Mordecai Lincoln of Exeter Township in Berks County and Province of Pennsylvania, Yeoman, and Mary his wife of the one part & Mary Rogers of the town of Reading in the County and Province aforesaid, widow, of the other part. Whereas by certain Indentures of lease and release dated the 19 and 20 days of February 1718, made between Tobias Collet, Citizen and Haberdasher of London, Daniel Quain of London and Henry Goldney of London, linen draper, of the one part & Andrew Robeson then of Roxboro in the County of Philadelphia, Yeoman, of the other part. That the said Tobias Collet, Daniel Quain and Henry Goldny for ye consideration in the said Indenture mentioned, granted and confirmed unto the said Andrew Robeson a certain tract of land lying on the east side of ye River Schuylkill then in Philadelphia County but now in Berks County aforesaid Bounded and described as follows [description] and a certain tract of 600 acres on ye west side of ye Schuykill river, the said two tracts to be holden by ye said Andrew Robeson his heirs and assigns under the yearly quit rent of one beaver skin on the first day of March as by ye said recorded Indenture in Book ff. Vol. 4 page 118 may at large appear—And the said Andrew Robeson being so seized of the said premises dyed, did by his last will and testament bearing date the day of Anno 1719, give unto his third son Jonathan Robeson the above described 1000 acres of land with the appurtenances and Whereas Andrew Robeson eldest son and heir at law of said Andrew Robeson the testator and by a Deed Poll under his hand and seal duly executed for ye consideration therein mentioned did grant release quit claim and confirm to the said Jonathan Robeson all the said 1000 acres of land with the appurtenances to hold to him the said Jonathan Robeson his heirs and assigns forever, as by the said recited Deed, dated ye 10th day of January 1726, may appear. And whereas by certain Indentures of Lease

and Release Triparitite made between Jonathan Robeson and Elizabeth his wife of the one part, Mordecai Lincoln of the second part (the said Jonathan Robeson having some time before sold the above described tract of 1000 acres of land to ye said Mordecai Lincoln, father to Mordecai Lincoln, party hereto, but no writing was made to him, the said Jonathan Robeson, to convey the same) and Thomas Millard of the third part. The said Jonathan Robeson & Elizabeth his wife and Mordecai Lincoln the father by the said Indenture dated ye 6 and 7 days of October 1729, for the consideration therein mentioned did grant and confirm the said 1000 acres of land to the said Thomas Millard in Fee. And the said Thomas Millard & Barbara his wife by Indenture of Lease and Release bearing date the 9 and 10 of May A.D. 1730, did grant and confirm the same 1000 acres of land and premises unto the said Mordecai Lincoln the Elder in Fee, he being so seized thereof dyed, who by his last Will and Testament dated 22nd. day of February 1735 did give and bequeath unto his son Mordecai Lincoln, party hereto, one third part of said 1000 acres of land to be struck off the east end or side of the said described 1000 acres of land which hath since been amicably done, to hold to him the said Mordecai Lincoln, his heirs and assigns forever, as in and by the said in part recited Will registered in the Register's Office at Philadelphia June 7, A.D. 1731, reference being thereunto had as may at large appear. Now this Indenture witnesseth that the said Mordecai Lincoln and Mary his wife for and in consideration of the sum of £50 Lawful money of Pennsylvania to them in hand paid by the said Mary Rogers the receipt whereof etc. etc. bargain sell alien release and confirm unto the said Mary Rogers and her heirs and assigns a certain piece or part of the above mentioned third part of the above described 1000 acres bounded and described as follows—Beginning at a post set for a corner in a line of said Mordecai Lincoln's land and a line of land of the late Thomas Lincoln, but now Michael Ziester's, containing one acre of land with outhouse and outbuildings improvements water-courses etc. unto the said Mary Rogers her heirs and assigns etc.

(Signed) MORDECAI LINCOLN (Seal)

her

MARY x LINCOLN

mark

The year and day first above
written in the presence of
Rebecca Nagel
Henry Christ

Before me the subscriber, one of the Justices of the Peace in and for the said County, on the 29 day of March 1773 came the within named Mordecai Lincoln and Mary his wife and acknowledged the within Indenture.

(Signed) HENRY CHRIST.

In immediate connection follow these endorsements:

Indentured to Thomas Lincoln in payment of £40 to Mary Rogers, May 4th. 1774. Witnesses William Tallum and H. Christ. Compared May 18th 1774.

This Indenture made the 3rd day of May 1779 between Mary Rogers administratrix of all and singular the goods and chattels rights and credits which were of Thomas Lincoln late of the town of Reading in the County of Berks, yoeman deceased, at the time of his death, who died intestate, of the one part and Henry Vanderslice of the same place, Esquire, of the other part—Whereas Mordecai Lincoln and Mary his wife by Indenture under their hands and seals Dated March 29, 1773 reciting etc., did confirm unto the said Mary Rogers or her heirs and assigns a certain piece or parcel of land situate in the Township of Exeter in the County of Berks aforesaid, bounded and described as follows [same as in first deed] Whereas the said Mary Rogers by Indenture dated May 4th 1774, did grant etc. to Thomas Lincoln (in his life time). [Recorded in Book 1, page 535, Reading.] Upon her Petition an order of sale granted June 10, 1776 "for payment of debts, maintenance & education of the younger children of said intestate granted to sell at public vendue"—Sold the same to Henry Vanderslice for £31, lawful money of Pennsylvania. Reported to Court and confirmed April 1st. last past subject to a yearly quit-rent as mentioned in the first Deed.

(Signed) MARY ROGERS

Sealed and delivered in the presence
of Henry Christ J. P.
Wit.:—Colinson Read
Acknowledged May 4, 1779.
Recorded and compared July 8, 1779.

Know all men that I Henry Vanderslice in consideration of £50 lawful

money of Pennsylvania to me paid by Mary Rogers grant to her, her heirs and assigns etc., the one acre etc., dated May 4th 1779.

(Signed) HENRY VANDERSLICE.

Wit.:—Henry Christ
Collinson Read [Reading, Book I, page 535.]

Acknowledged May 4th 1779.
Recorded and compared July 8, 1779.

B. JOHN AND REBECCA LINCOLN TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN

This indenture made the seventh day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy three Between John Lincoln of the County of Augusta and Colony of Virginia of the one part and Abraham Lincoln of the County of Augusta and Colony aforesaid of the other part witnesseth that the said John Lincoln for and in consideration of the sum of five shillings Current Money of Virginia to him in hand paid by the said Abraham Lincoln at or before the Sealing and Delivering of these Presents the Receipt whereof he doth hereby Acknowledge hath Granted Bargained and Sold and By these Presents doth Grant Bargain and Sell unto the said Abraham Lincoln and to his heirs one Certain Tract or Parcel of land Containing two Hundred and ten acres Lying and being in the County of Augusta on linvel's Creek Being Part of 1200 acres Granted to Mckay Duff Green & Hite by Patent bearing date the 26th day of March 1739 and was by them Conveyed to Robert MacKay by deed of lease and release bearing date the 19th and 20th days of June 1746 and Recorded in the County Court of Augusta and was by the said Robert Mckay Devised to Zachariah Mckay Moses Mckay Robert Mckay and James Mckay by his last Will and Testament dated the 7th day of October 1746 and Recorded in the County Court of Augusta. And Six Hundred acres part of the Twelve hundred acres was conveyed by the said Zachariah Mckay Moses Mckay Robt. Mckay and James Mckay unto the said John Lincoln by deeds of lease and release bearing date the 21st and 22nd days of June 1768 and Recorded in the County Court of Augusta and bounded as follows, to wit: Beginning at a white oak in the line of the Original Grant on the west side of Linvel's Creek & a line of the same south 31 degrees and 81 poles to two Black oaks south 65 p. East 384 Poles to the Creek Near a Sycamore & thorn by said Creek thence down with the same North 10 east 17 Poles & North 60 east 30 poles to a walnut corner of Isaac Lincoln's North 54 west 240 Poles to two small black oaks thence North

31 east 16 poles to a white oak and Black oaks on the old line with the same North 65 p West 130 Poles to the beginning Corner and all houses Buildings and orchard ways Waters Water-Courses Profits Commodities Heremitaments and Appurtenances whatsoever to the said Premises hereby granted or any part thereof Belonging or in any wise appertaining and the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders Rents Issues and Profits thereof To have and to hold the lands hereby conveyed and all and singular other the Premises hereby Granted with the Appurtenances unto the said Abraham Lincoln, his Executors, Administrators and Assigns from the day before the date hereof for and during the full Term and Time of one whole year from thence next ensuing fully to be Compleat and ended Yielding and Paying therefor the rent of One Pepper Corn on Lady Day next if the Same Shall be lawfully Demanded to the Intent and Purpose that by Virtue of these Presents and of the Statue for Transferring Uses into Possession the Said Abraham Lincoln may be in Actual Possession of the Premises and be thereby enabled to Accept and take a grant and Release of the reversion and Inheritance thereof to him and his heirs. In witness whereof the said John Lincoln hath hereunto set his hand and Seal the day and year first above written.

JOHN LINCOLN (Seal)

her
REBECKAH R. x LINCOLN (Seal)
mark

Signed, sealed and
delivered in the presence of
Josiah Davidson
his
Cornelius B. x Briant.
mark
her
Ann B. x Briant.
mark

C. ABRAHAM AND BATHSHEBA LINCOLN TO MICHAEL SHANKS

This Indenture made the Eightenth day of Feberuary in the Year of our Lord one thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty Between Abraham Lincolen of the County of Rockingham and State of Virginia and Bersheaba his wife of the one part and Michel Shanks and John Reuf of the County and State aforesaid of the other Part Witnesseth that for and in consideration of the sume of five Thousand Poundes Current money of

Virginia in hand paid unto the said Abm Lincolen By the said Michel Shanks at or Before the sealing and Delivery of these presents the Receipt whereof they doth hereby acknowledge and thereof doth Release acquit and Discharge the said Michal Shanks his heirs and assigns by these presents he the said Abm Lincolen hath Granted Bargained Sold Alien'd and Confirmed and by these presents doth grant Bargain sell alien and Confirm unto the said Michal Shanks and theire heirs and assigns for Ever one Certain Tract of Land Containing two hundred and fifty acres Being a part of twele hundred acres Granted to McKay Duff Green and Hite By patent bearing Date the twenty six dayes of March 1739 and by them convey'd to Robert McKay by Deed of Lease and Release bearing date the Nineteenth and twenty Dayes of June 1746 and by the said Robert McKay Devised to the afor said Zachariah mcKay Moses McKay Robert McKay and the aforesaid McKayes conveyed to John Lincolen six hundred acres of the forsaid Land by Deed of Lease and Realse bearing Date the twenty Second day of June 1768 and John Lincolen Conveyed a part of this within mentioned two hundred and fifty acres to Abraham Lincolen and Tunis Vanpelt Thos. Bryan and Holton Muncey Conveyed the Rest of said Land to Abrm Lincolen Lying and being on the North side of Linvils Creek Beginning at a Locust Stake and walnut stump on the north side of Linvil's Creek thence along the old Line South thirty seven Degrees West Seventy Eight Poles to a black oak corner to Tunis Vanpelt North fifty five and a half Degrees West one hundred and twenty four poles to white oak on said line: South forty two Degrees West one hundred & four Poles to a whit oak South East thirty Poles to white oak and two sapplins North Seventy six Degrees East Seventy six Poles near to a white oak South twenty five Degrees East forty one Poles to a Locust Stake North thirty six Degrees East fifty Eight Poles to two smal Hicorys South fifty five ½ Degrees East One Hundred and Thirty six poles to the Creek near a sycemore and thorn thence down the Creek the several courses to a walnut to his br Isaccs line North fifty four Degrees West two hundred and forty poles to two small white oak North thirty one Degrees East sixteeen poles to a black oak saplin on the lin————————with all Houses Buildings Orchards Wayes Water courses Profits commoditys Hereditaments and appurtenances whatsoever to the Said Premises hereby granted or in any part thereof Belonging or in any wise appertaining and the Reversion and Reversions Remainder and Remainders Rents Issues & Profits thereof and also all the Estate Right Title use Trust Property or Claim or Demand whatsoever of him the said Abraham Lincolen of In and to the said

Premises of all Deeds evidences and Writings Touching or in any wise concerning the same To Have and To Hold the land hereby conveyed and All and Singular other premises hereby Bargained and sold and Every Part and Parcel thereof with their and Every of their appurtenances unto the said man Michel Shanks His Heirs and assigns for Ever to the only proper use and Behoof of them Michal Shanks and of his heirs and assigns for ever and the said Abraham Lincolen and Bashaba his wife for themselves theire Heirs and Assigns by these Presents Abm Lincoln and his wife at the time of the Sealing and Delivery of these Presents is Seized of a good Sure Perfect and Indefeazable Estate of Inheritance In fee Simple of and In the said premises Hereby Granted and he Hath good Power and lawfull and absolute right and authority to grant and Convey the same to the said Michal Shanks In manner and form aforsaid and that the premises now are and so for ever here after shall remain and be free and Clear of and from all former and other Gifts Grants Bargains Sales rights and titles of Dowers Dower Judgments Executions Titles Troubles Charges and Incumbrances whatsoever Made done Commited or Suffred by the said Abm Lincolen and Basheba his wife or any other person or persons whatsover the assements hereafter to grow dwe and Payable to the Collector for the Time being for the use of the Commonwealth of Virginia for and In Prospect of the said Premises only Excepted and forprized and the said Abm Lincolen and Bathsheba his wife and theire Heirs all and singular the Premises hereby granted with the appurtenances unto the said Michal shanks His heirs and assigns against them the said Abm Lincoln and Bathshaba his weife and theire heirs and all and Every other Person Persons whatsoever shall and will Warrent and for Ever Defend by these Presents and Lastly that the said Abm Lincoln and Bathshabe his weife and theire heirs and Every other Person or Persons and theire Heirs any thing having and Claiming In the Premises herein before mentioned or Intended to be hereby Bargained and sold shall and will from time to time and at all times hereafter at the Reasonable Request and at the proper cost and charges in the Laue of them the Said Michal Shanks His heirs or assigns to make do and Execute or Procure to be made done and Executed all and ewery such further and other Reasonable act and acts thing or things Conveyances and assurance for theire further Better and more Effectual, Conveying and Assuring the Premises aforsaid with their and Every of their appurtenances unto the said Michal Shanks his Heirs and assigns as by the said Abraham Lincolen his heirs or assignes or their Councils Learned In the Laue shall be

Reasonable advised Devised or Required. In Witness Whereof the said Abraham Lincolen and Bathsheba his weufe Hath Hereunto set theire hand and seal the day & year first above written.

Signed and Deliver'd in Presence of
Charles Mair
Solomon Mathews
George Chrisman

ABRM LINCOLN (Seal)
BATSAB LINCON (Seal)

At a Court held for Rockingham County the 26th Day of June 1780 This Deed of Bargain & Sale from Abraham Lincoln & Bersheba his wife to Michael Shanks was proved by the Oath of Charles Maier & George Chrisman & by the Solemn Affirmation of Solomon Mathews the witnesses thereto and ordered to be recorded by the Court.

PET'R HOG C. R. C.

Rockingham County to wit:—

The Commonwealth of Virginia to Daniel Smith Thomas Hewit and Henry Ewing Gentelmen Greeting Whereas Abram Lincoln and Barbara his wife by their certain Indenture of Lease and Release Bargain and Sale bearing date the 18 Day of February 1780 for the Consederation therein mentioned did give, grant bargain sell aliene release & Confirm unto Michael Shanks a certain tract of land containing 50 acres, and whereas Barbara the wife of the sd Abraham Lincoln is unable to travel to our sd. County Court of Rockingham to be privately examined apart from her said husband whether she is willing to relinquish her right of Dower to the land in the said Deed mentioned as the Law in that case directs. Therefore Know ye that we give power and authority to you the said Danl Smith Tho. Hewet & Henry Ewing to go to the House of the sd. Abraham Lincoln and there to examine the sd. Barbara privately & apart from her said husband, whether she is willing to relinquish her right of Dower to the land in the said Deed mentioned & whether she doth the same of her own free will without any force threats, or compulsion of her said husband & whether she be willing that her acknowledgment shall be recorded with the said Deeds and that you certify the same distinctly to the Justices of our said County Court of Rockingham and that you have there the said Deed together with this writ, which we send you. Witness Peter Hog Clerk of our sd. Court at the Court ho. the 8th Day of Sept. 1781 in the sixth year of the Commonwealth.

PET' HOG.

By Virtue of the within writ to us—Thos. Hewit & Henry Ewing directed we did personally on the 24 day of Septr. 1781 go to the house of the within named Abraham Lincoln and did there privately and apart from her husband Abr Lincoln examine Barshaba his wife whether she was willing to relinquish her right of Dower to the Land sold by her said husband to Michael Shanks who declared & acknowledged that she freely & voluntarily relinquished the same without the Force threats or Compulsion of her said husband, and that she desired the said Deeds together with this relinquishment of Dower by her made should be recorded in the County Court of Rockingham All which we do hereby certify to the Justice of the said County Court. Given under our hands & Seals this 24 Day of Septr. 1781.

THOS. HEWIT (Seal)
HENRY EWIN (Seal)

At a Court held for Rockingham County the 24 Day of September 1781. This Commission with the privy Examination of Bershebe the wife of Abraham Lincoln was returned & ordered to be recorded by the Court.

PETR. HOG, C. R. C.

D. ADDITIONAL AUGUSTA COUNTY DEEDS

These additional deeds are on record in Staunton, Augusta County, Virginia:

DEED of John Lincoln of Augusta County, Virginia, to Abraham Lincoln of 210 acres of land for five shillings current money of Virginia, dated 7 August, 1773.

LEASE from John Lincoln of Augusta County to Isaac Lincoln of same for 215 acres of land for five shillings current money, dated 11 August, 1773.

DEED of John Lincoln and Rebecca his wife, of land sold to Abraham Lincoln (as above), dated 12 August, 1773.

RELEASE from John Lincoln and Rebecca his wife, of land to Isaac Lincoln (as above), dated 12 August, 1773.

III. DOCUMENTS RELATING TO CAPTAIN ABRAHAM LINCOLN

A. LAND WARRANTS AND SURVEYS OF HIS ORIGINAL KENTUCKY PURCHASES

Land-Office Treasury WARRANT, No. 3334

To the principal Surveyor of any County within the Commonwealth of Virginia.

This shall be your WARRANT to Survey and lay off in one or more Surveys, for ABRAHAM LINKHORN his Heirs or Assigns, the Quantity of four hundred acres of land, due unto the said Abraham Linkhorn in consideration of the Sum of one hundred & sixty pounds current Money paid into the publick Treasury; the Payment whereof to the Treasurer hath been duly certified by the Auditors of publick Accounts, and their Certificate received into the Land Office. GIVEN under my Hand, and the Seal of the said office, on this fourth Day of March in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and eighty

G. CARR. D. R. L. O.

a. Field Notes of Survey of Four Hundred Acres of Land on Long Run of Floyd's Fork

Surveyed for Abraham Linkhorn 400 acres of Land in Jefferson County by virtue of a Treasury warrant No. 3334 on the Fork of Floyds Fork now called the Long Run beginning about two miles up the said Fork from the mouth of a Fork of the same formerly called Tues Fork at a Sugar Tree standing on the side of the same marked $S^{D}B$ and extending thence East 300 poles to a Poplar and Sugar Tree North 213 1/3 poles to a Beech and Dogwood West 300 poles to a White Oak and Hickory South 213 1/3 poles to the Beginning—May 7th 1785

WILLIAM SHANON D. S. Y. C.

WILLIAM MAY S. Y. C.

Ananiah Lincoln and
Josiah Lincoln C. C.
Abraham Linkhorn marker Exd

B. ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S PATENT TO THE GREEN RIVER LAND

Beverly Randolph, Esq.,

Lieutenant Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

Know ye, That by virtue and in consideration of two Land Office Treasury Warrants Number 3333 and 3335 issued the 4th day of March, 1780, there is granted by said Commonwealth unto Abraham Lincoln a certain Tract or Parcel of land, containing Eight Hundred acres, by survey, bearing date the 12th day of October, one thousand seven hundred and eighty four, lying and being in the County of Lincoln on Green River about six miles below Green River Lick, and bounded as followeth, to wit: Beginning at a buckeye on the river bank being a corner of William Montgomery, and running thence down the river with the meanders as it is alid down in the plat to a sugar tree and buckeye on the river bank, at a bent of the river; thence North Forty five degrees, West two hundred and eighty five poles to two white oaks; thence North forty five degrees fuve degrees east three hundred and twenty six poles to a white oak and maple; thence South forty five degrees East three hundred and forty two poles to two hickories on the river bank; thence with the meanders of the stream to the beginning—

With its appurtenances; to have and to hold the said tract or parcel of land, with itd appureenances, to the said Abraham Lincoln and his heirs forever.

In witness whereof, the said Beverly Randolph, Esq., Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, hath hereunto set his hand, and caused the lesser Seal of the said Commonwealth to be affixed at Richmond on the 17th day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven and of the Commonwealth the eleventh.

BEVERLY RANDOLPH

A copy attest, Arthur S. Doyle, Asst. Auditor.

C. PATENT TO THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN TRACT CLAIMED BY JOHN REED

Patrick Henry, Esq. Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia

To all to whom these Presents may come, Greeting:

Know Ye, That by virtue and in consideration of part of a land office treasurer warrant No. 14487 issued the 26th day of September 1782, there is granted by said Commonwealth unto John Reed, a certain tract or parcel

of land, containing Two hundred and Fifty Acres by survey, bearing date, the 26th day of November, one thousand seven hundred and eighty three, lying and being in the County of Jefferson on a west branch of Bear Creek adjoining Moses Keykendall's survey of five hundred acres of the east and bounded as followeth to wit: Beginning at a beech ten poles west from the Bank of Sd branch being corner to said Keykendall's survey running thence along said Keykendall's line north fifty one degrees West eighty poles to a white oak on the side of a steep ridge in said line, thence north Seventy degrees East three hundred and twenty to a small white oak on a brushey ridge thence South twenty degrees East one hundred & twenty poles to a black oak on the top of a ridge crossing said fork at eighty poles by an ash marked J. R. on the north bank thereof thence South seventy degrees West Three hundred & forty eight poles to a black oak thence North Ten degrees East ninety poles to the beginning. with its appurtenances: To Have and To Hold the said Tract or Parcel of land, with its appurtenances, to the said John Reed and his heirs

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the said Patrick Henry, Esq. Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, hath hereunto set his hand, and caused the Lesser Seal of the Said Commonwealth to be affixed at Richmond on the 20th day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty Six. and of the Commonwealth the Ninth

P. HENRY

A Copy attest Jno J Craig Auditor
By Willard T. Doyle Assistant Auditor

D. THE LINCOLN SUIT AGAINST THE REED HEIRS

Beside his two farms, one of eight hundred and the other of four hundred acres, Captain Abraham Lincoln was owner of a warrant for 2268 acres which apparently he never possessed. This fact comes to light in a suit in the Nelson County Court in which Honorable Felix Grundy, a noted lawyer and politician, represented Mordecai Lincoln in a suit against the heirs of John Reed, Surveyor, for land alleged to have belonged to Captain Lincoln.—W. E. B.

Moredcai Lincoln, heir at law to Abraham Lincoln
vs. Bill
John Reed's heirs and executors

To the honorable the judges of the district court of Bardstown, your orator Mordecai Lincoln respectfully sheweth that sometime in the year

1783 Abraham Lincoln now deceased and a certain John Reed now deceased entered into the following agreement to wit: Said Lincoln furnished said Reed with a land warrant No. 14487 by which warrant said Lincoln was entitled to 2268 acres of land and said Reed agreed to take said land warrant to locate the same according to law for one half of the land which should be procured by said warrant and your orator further states that said Reed received into his possession the said warrant from the contract aforesaid, and your orator further states that he has no reason to believe that Abraham Lincoln ever assigned said warrant to said Reed but in all probability said Reed assigned the said warrant to himself. Your orator further states that said Reed by virtue of said warrant made the following entry with the surveyor to wit; John Reed assignee of Abraham Lincoln enters 1000 acres part of the same warrant No. 14487. Begun at the lower end of the first Narrows below the first Buffalo crossing above the mouth of Bear Creek to run down Green River to the upper end of the next Narrows, then off westwardly for quantity. . . .

Your orator further states that said Abraham Lincoln departed this life in May 1786 without will and your orator his oldest son became entitled to the land aforesaid as heir at law to said Abraham Lincoln. . . .

F. GRUNDY for Complainant

This first day of September 1797 came Mordecai Lincoln before me a justice of the peace for Washington County and made oath that what he knows of the above bill of his own knowledge is true and what he has from information he believes to be true.

Given under my hand and seal the day and year aforesaid.

TRAMWELL HICKMAN.

E. HOW CAPTAIN ABRAHAM LINCOLN SIGNED HIS NAME

In the suit which Mordecai Lincoln brought against the heirs of John Reed, a question of the authenticity of a signature of Captain Lincoln was an issue. Thomas Lincoln, not the father of President Lincoln, but an uncle of the same name resident near Lexington, was a witness. His oath that Captain Lincoln spelled his name Lincoln and not Linkhorn or in the form of any of the other backwoods variants is of value.—W. E. B.

The deposition of Thomas Lincoln of full age taken at the state house in Frankfort between the hours of eight o'clock in the forenoon and six o'clock in the afternoon, to be read in answer in a suit in chancery in the Nelson Circuit Court, where Mordecai Lincoln is Complainant and Benjamin Garyson guardian for the heirs of John Reed is defendant.

This deponent being duly sworn deposeth and saith that:

Question by complainant—

Do you know how my father Abraham Lincoln spelt his name?

Answer—

He spelt his name *Abraham Lincoln.*

Q—Do you know who is the said Abraham Lincoln's heir at law?

A—Mordecai Lincoln the complainant in the above suit is his oldest son and heir at law.

Q—Are you acquainted with Abraham Lincoln's handwriting?

A—I am having lived near him and seen his writing often.

Q—Do you believe the signature to assignation on a Treasurer Warrant of 2268 acres No. 14487 to John Reed Nov. 24, 1783 where it is spelt Abraham Linkhorn, is the signature of the said Abraham Lincoln?

A—I have examined this signature this day in the Registrar's Office and do not believe it to be the said Abraham Lincoln's handwriting. And further the deponent saith not.

The above deposition was subscribed and sworn to before me a justice of the peace of the county aforesaid at the place mentioned within this 19th day of May 1812.

CHRISTI GREENUP

June, 1816, Nelson County Court.

F. THE WIDOW LINCOLN'S SUBSCRIPTION

In the Durrett Collection in the University of Chicago is a remarkable document, being a subscription list made by settlers on and near Floyd's Fork to equip a company to fight under George Rogers Clark against the Wabash Indians. This subscription was made in the autumn after the murder of Captain Abraham Lincoln, and his widow gave a gun. Of several guns subscribed hers had the highest appraisal.—W. E. B.

We the undersigned subscribers being duly sworn to appraise the following articles for the use of an expedition against the Wabash Indians commanded by General Clark for Capt. George Pomeroy's Company September the 8th. 1786

A cow the Property of Richard Chenowitz to Six Pounds . . 6. 0.0
A Steer the Property of John McManes to Four Pounds . . . 4. 0.0
A Steer the Property of Thomas Curry to Six Pounds 6. 0.0
A Cow the Property of James Denny to Seven Pounds . . . 7. 0.0
A Steer the Property of Robert Eakens to Six Pounds . . . 6. 0.0

A Stray Steer at William Murrys at Linns Station to Three Pounds	3. 0.0
A Bull supposed to be the property of Capt. Breckenridge or William Robinson	6. 0.0
A Steer the Property of John Humes to Six Pounds	6. 0.0
A Cow the Property of Christian Shake to Six Pounds	6. 0.0
A Blanket the Property of Arthur Chenowitz to one pound fourteen shillings	1.14.0
A Steer the Property of John Reed to Five Pounds	5. 0.0
A Blanket the Property of Robert McCune to Twelve Shillings	0.12.0
A Bag the Property of Sam Shannon of Brashears Creek	0. 9.0
A Bag the Property of Moses Kirkpatrick to nine shillings	0. 9.0
A Bag the Property of George Pomeroy to twelve shillings	0.12.0
A Bag the Property of William Rice to fifteen shillings	0.15.0
Four Lash Ropes four Halters belonging to James A. Sturges Senr.	0. 6.0
A Packsaddle belonging to John Holt	0.10.0
A Gun the Property of Moses Tyler	7. 0.0
A Gun Shotbag and Powderhorn the property of Robert Tyler	7. 0.0
A Shotbag Powderhorn Blanket and Packsaddle the property of Henner Seaton	2. 0.0
A Gun the Property of Widow Lincoln	8. 0.0
A Mare the Property of George Pomeroy	18. 0.0
A Mare the Property of James Patterson	20. 0.0
A Packsaddle the property of Blan Ballard	0. 9.0
A Blanket the Property of Benj. Huse	1. 0.0
A Packsaddle the Property of Robt. McCune	0. 6.0

G. THE ESTATE OF CAPTAIN ABRAHAM LINCOLN

The estate of Captain Abraham Lincoln was appraised and administered in Nelson County, of which Washington County was then a part. The reason the legal proceedings were held there and not in Jefferson County where he died is doubtless that his widow had removed from the Long Run settlement to the home in Washington, then Nelson, County. This document, and the will of Joseph Hanks, which is in the same court-house in Bardstown, were by courtesy of the officials taken to Louisville and photographed for this work.—W. E. B.

For some reason the estate of Abraham Lincoln presented to the Nelson County Court contained only a list of personal property. The administra-

tors were men of probity, and the landholdings must have been otherwise accounted for. For some reason, also, these holdings that had belonged to Abraham Lincoln before his death were not accounted for in the earlier tax-lists of Mordecai Lincoln. He paid taxes on the one-hundred-acre tract on Beech Fork in Washington County, but this was not an original Lincoln entry; it was purchased apparently by Bathsheba, the original entry having been made by Matthew Walton. This was all the land on which Mordecai paid taxes in his own name in 1792 and 1795; perhaps because he was not of age in 1792 and the transfer was not completed immediately on his reaching his majority. In 1796 he began paying taxes on five tracts of land:

400 acres on Floyd's Fork in Jefferson County, entered in name of Abraham Lincoln

1134¼ acres on Green River in Hardin County, entered in name of John Reed

1000 acres on Kentucky River, Lincoln County, entered in name of Abraham Bird

1000 acres on Kentucky River, Lincoln County, entered in name of Abraham Bird

800 acres on Green River, Lincoln County, entered in name of Abraham Lincoln

This makes a total of 4334¼ acres.

In the 1729 list, the Jefferson County tract is not listed, though Mordecai did not deed that land to Benjamin Bridges till 1822. Doubtless the reason was that the land was already sold to Bridges under contract, as was the frequent custom, and that he paid the taxes during the interval. There is some uncertainty about the deposition of the two Bird tracts. We are able to account for the four hundred acres on Floyd's Fork and the eight hundred on Green River, and the John Reed land is that about which the lawsuit occurred some years later.

This is the inventory of the personal property:

Nelson County Court.

Will Book A, page 48.

March 10, 1789

Pursuant to an order of the court appointing the subscribers appraisers of the estate of Abraham Lincoln deceased, being first sworn proceeded as follows:

		£	s	d
1	Sorrel horse	8		
1	Black horse	9	10	
1	Red calf and cow	4	10	
1	Brindle calf and cow	4	10	
1	Red calf and cow	5		
1	Brindle bull yearling	1		
1	Brindle heifer yearling	1		
	Bar spear plow and tackling	2	5	
3	Weeding hoes	7	6	
	Flax Wheel		6	
	Pair smoothing irons		15	
1	dozen pewter plates	1	10	
2	Pewter dishes		17	6
	Dutch oven and cule weighing 15 lbs		15	
	Small iron kettle & cule 12 lbs		12	
	Tool adds	10	10	
	Hand saw	5	5	
	One-inch auger	6	6	
	Three-quarter auger	4	4	6
	Half inch auger	3	3	
	Drawing knife	3	3	
	Currying knife	10	10	
	Currier's knife and barking iron	6	6	
	Old smooth-bor gun		10	
	Rifle gun		55	
	Rifle gun	3	10	
2	Pott trammels		14	
1	Feather bed and furniture	5	10	
	Ditto	8	5	
1	Bed and turkey feathers & furniture	1	10	
	Steeking-iron		1	6
	Candle-stick		1	6
1	Axe		9	
		£68	16s	6d

Signed

Peter Sibert

Christopher Barlow

John Alvey

H. BATHSHEBA'S SIGNATURE IN 1801

The fortunate discovery that Bathsheba, widow of Captain Abraham Lincoln, was alive and paying taxes in Washington County in 1792 and 1795, for which I again thank Mrs. Jouett Taylor Cannon, of the Kentucky State Historical Society, was followed by the discovery by Mr. Warren of her signature, February 3, 1801, to an authorization of the marriage of her youngest daughter Ann or Nancy to William Brumfield. In a search for me by Honorable Joseph Polin, county attorney for Washington County, this document was independently discovered, as also the marriage bond of Josiah Lincoln to Catherine or "Caty" Barlow. Bathsheba's second son and youngest daughter, Josiah and Nancy, were married within a few days of each other, and by the same minister, Rev. Thomas Kyle.—W. E. B.

Sir you will please to issue a license for William Brumfield to marry Ann Lincoln my daughter.

Given under my hand this 3rd day of February 1801.

BERSHEBA LINCOLN (Seal)

Teste
Mordecai Lincoln
Peter Skulkes

State of Kentucky,
Washington County, Sct.

I, John M. Smothers, clerk of the Washington County Court, certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of the permission of the bride's mother, Bathsheba Lincoln, asking the clerk of the Washington County Court to issue license for the above marriage. Given under my hand and seal of office, this 20th day of July, 1923.

JOHN M. SMOTHERS, Clerk,
Washington County Court

(Seal of the
County Court)

I hereby certify that marriage was solemnized by me between William Brownfield and Anna Lencolmen the 12th instant according to the rites and ceremonies of the Christian Church. Given under by hand and seal January 13th, 1801. Signed, THOMAS KYLE

This certificate is not of record in the office of the County Court, and is produced by members of the family. It is evident that the data is wrong, and should be February instead of January.

I. JOSIAH LINCOLN'S MARRIAGE BOND

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS: That we Josiah Lincoln and Christopher Barlow are held and firmly bound unto his excellency James Garrard Esquire, Governor of Kentucky and his successors in the penal sum of fifty pounds current money the payment of which well and truly to be made, we bind ourselves and our heirs &c jointly & severely and firmly by these presents.

Sealed with our seals, dated 28th day of February 1801.

The conditions is such that if there should be no legal excuse to obstruct the marriage shortly intended between the above bound Josiah Lincoln and Caty Barlow daughter of the above bound Christopher Barlow then this obligation to be void or else to remain in full force and virtue.

JOSIAH LINCOLN (Seal)
his
CHRISTOPHER x BARLOW (Seal)
mark

J. MARY LINCOLN CRUME'S TOMBSTONE

Inscription on stone, Mill Creek Cemetery, Hardin County:

Mary Crume departed this life June 15, 1851. Aged 48 years 5 months 11 days

K. ABRAHAM AND HANNANIAH LINCOLN

For new material relating to Captain Abraham Lincoln and his cousin, Hannaniah, I am indebted, first, to Mr. Waldo Lincoln, whose research has established the genealogical relationship, and, secondly, to Honorable L. S. Pence, of Lebanon, Kentucky, whose researches in the records of Lincoln and Nelson Counties furnish proof of the residence of Abraham Lincoln and family on the Green River tract, in a cabin erected by Jacob Gum in 1779, the Lincoln occupancy dating from 1781 until after October 12, 1784. On the latter date his title was obtained through survey, as recorded in Book E, volume II, page 379 of the Lincoln County records. From the activity of the Indians at that time, Mr. Pence infers, and I think correctly, that Abraham Lincoln was planning to remove his family to a safer place, and was anxious to complete his survey and

record of possessions before removal, as he had held the land up to that time in right of the assignment of the Gum and Dever claim and by possession. The record "present" which is found on the two treasury warrants is official certification, as Mr. Pence finds by comparison, that Abraham Lincoln was tenured in actual possession. Had he not been thus in possession, the official surveyor, his neighbor William Montgomery, would have certified that he was owner of the land but a non-resident. The utter lack of any record of Abraham Lincoln as resident in Jefferson County during this period lends strength to this opinion, which I fully accept.

To Mr. Pence also belongs credit for the discovery of the indebtedness of Hannaniah to Abraham. The latter had bought, up to the time of the murder of Abraham, twenty-seven hundred acres of land and had contracted for more. Apparently he obtained nearly if not quite all the money for this land from Abraham. John Caldwell, as administrator of Abraham Lincoln, deceased, after repeated failures to secure settlement, brought suit against Hannaniah in the Nelson County Court. There was an attempt to adjust the matter by arbitration. On June 8, 1790, this Court Order was made:

The parties mutually agree to submit all matters in difference between them in this suit to the following named arbitrators, namely, Andrew Hynes, John Hardin, Anthony Foster and Richard Parker, and agree that their award be made the judgment of this court.

Later appears this meager and unsatisfactory entry:

Award returned, and judgment accordingly.

But in September, 1791, in the old fee book, is an entry showing "costs of award" against Hannaniah, which shows that the award was adverse to him. It is a satisfaction to know that when the marriage of Hannaniah to Sarah Jeffrey, February 9, 1787, by Rev. William Taylor, made the Beech Fork cabin the temporary and overcrowded abode of two families, it was Mordecai and his wife who removed, leaving the widow and her five children a home.

L. THE LONG RUN CHURCH AND THE LINCOLN GRAVE

A statement dictated at the Long Run Church, Monday, June 12, 1922. Revised, corrected and signed by Sydenham Markley Talbott.

I am now seventy-five years of age, son of Sydenham DeMoval Talbott, who migrated from Bourbon County to Long Run in 1833, and bought from the Hewlett heirs the Webb farm bounded on the south by the Bridges farm, formerly the farm of Abraham Lincoln. This Hewlett farm was formerly land of Morgan Hughes. The line between the two farms runs east and west. The Bridges house which occupied the site of the Lincoln cabin was in the northeastern corner of the Lincoln farm, and the Webb house which became our home was on the Hughes land, so the families residing in these houses were comparatively near neighbors.

I have lived all my life in this vicinity. I am not a member of this church, being myself a Disciple or Campbellite, but I have attended this church at its monthly meetings nearly all my life, and I suppose no man now living knew more people buried here than I. I have attended many burial services here. My six brothers lie here; all of them died in childhood.

This church was organized in 1797, but a schoolhouse was here before the organization of the church, and this was a place of worship from the beginning of this settlement on Long Run in about 1780. The first people lived in the stockade, or at least sought shelter there and had community life. The first burials in this neighborhood were not on individual farms, but in this enclosure. The statement that the original log building stood in the bottom near the creek is a mistake. The first log structure was here. It gave place to a building erected out of native stone. About 1833 that building was taken down, and the stone used for the foundation of this church. The original outside walls may still be seen under the floor, but the building is about sixteen feet wider and about ten feet longer than the stone building. The brick for the present building was burned only a few hundred yards from here. I remember well the old mill and the old mill-race and can indicate their location precisely.

When the church was enlarged it was necessary to extend it over a few of the nearest graves. Five graves are known to have been covered. Abraham Lincoln and a man and his wife named Crask are three of the persons buried under the old church. Tom Crask told me this, and made a rather rough joke about his grandparents keeping company with Abraham Lincoln. Tom Crask was a Union man in his sympathies, and I was a southerner, and always have been. I believe Jeff Davis was the greatest man this country ever produced, but I have respect for Abraham Lincoln, too. I respect all good people. I had my education in Cecilia College, which was Roman Catholic, but I am not myself a Catholic.

I have been a public man all my life. I had horses, stallions and jacks and have been in the way of meeting a great many people and have known the facts about this neighborhood better than almost any one else.

In the far end of my home, which is situated about a mile northeast of here, was born, in 1797, William Webb, some of whose relatives are buried here. Forty-one years ago he came here from Springfield, Illinois, rode up to my house late one evening and asked if he might sleep for that night in the room where he was born.

He took me and showed me what happened in this neighborhood before my father lived here. He was the son of the elder William Webb, who moved here in 1782. Old Mr. Webb had a very small house originally. It was still standing in my day, and we used it as a smoke-house. William Webb identified the place where old Mr. Lincoln lived. I had heard my father talk about the Lincolns. Pa showed me where Lincoln was killed and Webb's story agreed with Pa's. Webb was a fleshy man and had some difficulty in walking far, but he showed me where the Lincolns lived. I can take you to the place, the spring, the site of the cabin and the orchard; nothing is left of the orchard.

In 1862 we had a hurricane, we now call them cyclones, which twisted off the trees of Bridges's orchard, some of which may have been the Lincoln trees, though I do not know about that. I had many an apple, peach and pear from the Bridges orchard in my boyhood. I know what I am telling is correct and I am sure that the tradition is authentic concerning the burial place of the older Lincoln.

(Signed) SYDENHAM MARKLEY TALBOTT.

P.S. Since dictating the foregoing I have seen Doctor Webb, now eithty-two years old. He tells me that James Webb was his grandfather, and died on my farm in 1820, being killed by the fall of a limb from a tree. I have heard my father relate the same. This James Webb was a brother of the elder William Webb. Doctor Webb says that several persons were buried in the Long Run churchyard in the 1700's but no stones marked any of the older graves.

SYDENHAM MARKLEY TALBOTT.

The foregoing statement was made up from my own notes of an interview with Mr. Talbott, a few old neighbors being present and corroborating at intervals. I had corresponded with him previous to this visit. During this interview we sat on the front door-step of the Long Run Church, beside these neighbors, there being also present, Mr. R. C. Ballard-

Thruston and Miss Kinkead, his alert and competent secretary. Miss Kinkead made stenographic notes of the interview. For the most part her report covers the same ground as that in my notes; but as she made record of these matters which escaped my pencil, I picked out a few items which add some detail to the narrative:

Notes of interview with Mr. S. M. Talbott, Mr. Oscar T. Proctor also assenting to such portions as he had known; questions by Doctor Barton:

Q. How long have you lived here?

MR. TALBOTT: I was born yonder in the house where I now live. I am seventy-five years old. My father, Sydenham DeMoval Talbott, moved here from Bourbon County in 1833. My name is Sydenham Markley Talbott. My father bought his place from the Hewlitt heirs. Benjamin Bridges, who owned the Lincoln farm, was one of our best neighbors. He lived yonder (pointing northeast to a place which we later visited under his direction). My father knew Mordecai Lincoln. He sold his place to Benjamin Bridges before my father came here, but Mordecai came back occasionally and visited Bridges. The Bridges house, which occupied the site of the Lincoln house, was the first house east of the church, and I can take you to the very spot. There was a fine apple orchard there. I used to visit it in my boyhood. The last tree blew down in 1862. Just beyond the Lincoln home lived old Major Crawford, who was an old man when I was a boy. When I was about ten, he was living just beyond the Lincoln spring. Major Crawford's house must have been very near where Morgan Hughes lived.

Q. What do you know about the site of the Lincoln home and the place where Abraham Lincoln was killed?

MR. TALBOTT: I will take you to the place where the home stood, and I will find the place where the spring was, and the steps that led down to it. It is the place where the Bridges home stood in my boyhood. My father showed me the place where Mordecai Lincoln told him his father Abraham Lincoln was killed. Mordecai used to visit Bridges, and they talked about Indians and the old times.

Q. How long has this place been used as a place of worship?

MR. TALBOTT: Long before I was born. In the first place, there was a log house that stood right here. It was built before my father came.

MR. PROCTOR: The records show that it was built in 1797.

MR. TALBOTT: Yes, and there was preaching here long before that. William Webb and my father told me.

Q. Did Mr. Webb say that Abraham Lincoln was buried here?

MR. TALBOTT: He did not say that, but just remarked that old Mr. Lincoln was buried on Long Run, and he showed me the place where his father told him old Mr. Lincoln was killed.

Q. When was the brick church built?

MR. PROCTOR: The brick church was built in 1833, but there was a stone church intermediate between the log and the brick. The brick church that now stands here extends fifteen to twenty feet back of the line of the old church. It is wider, also. You can see the line of the extensions.

Q. Besides William Webb and Tom Crask, whom have you heard say that Abraham Lincoln died near here or was buried here?

MR. TALBOTT: Webb did not say anything about where he was buried. Tom Crask lived with me two winters ago, and told me that his parents and old man Lincoln were buried under the church, as I told you. I have heard the same from other old men. Sim Sturgeon, whose headstone you see yonder, died in 1822. His grandson, whose name was the same as his grandfather's, told me his grandfather told him that old Mr. Lincoln was buried under the church.

MR. PROCTOR: My father, William C. Proctor, said he always heard that Lincoln was buried under the church, and that Tom Crask's father and mother were buried there.

Q. You both have known this graveyard for a long time?

MR. PROCTOR: It is our family burial place and has been for many generations. We have belonged to this church, in which I am an officer.

MR. TALBOTT: My eldest brother was buried here in 1835; three of my brothers died of malignant scarlet fever and were buried here in 1842. I have helped to lay out many of the old people buried here.

Q. Where are the oldest graves?

MR. TALBOTT: Behind the church, but some of the very oldest, five or six, are under the church.

The foregoing report makes free use of Miss Kinkead's notes, picking out the items which appear to supplement the narrative. From this point I quote her shorthand report verbatim:

After leaving the church we all went up the creek. In front of the church about two hundred and fifty yards on the north side of the creek is the site of the old Benjamin Bridges apple orchard. It is now all

plowed. This orchard is just west of the chinquapin tree which is the line tree between Jefferson and Shelby Counties.

From this chinquapin tree on the bank of the creek, north side, a line passing north would go between the site of the spring and the old cabin where Mordecai Lincoln and afterward Benjamin Bridges lived (and therefore probably Abraham Lincoln), leaving the cabin in Jefferson County and the spring in Shelby County, and the pair of steps close to the county line, but probably on the Jefferson County side, the cabin and spring probably two hundred yards or so south of the angle in the Jefferson and Shelby County line.

There is a small branch east of the old orchard and about thirty yards east of the Jefferson and Shelby County line tree—this drain probably a hundred yards east, on the Widow Taylor Pierce's place. Here we found the spring, approximately twenty yards east of the drain. This, as the old residents assured us, is the spring from which Abraham Lincoln, Sr., got his water.

On the west side of this same branch or drain and probably twenty-five yards from the spring was the spot where there used to be steps going down to the drain or branch. Mr. Talbott remembers when these steps were there. Up the hill on the west side of the drain one hundred and sixty-nine feet southwest of the spring and one hundred and fifty-eight feet southwest of the tree near it, is the site of the old cabin where Mordecai Lincoln and afterward Benjamin Bridges lived, and supposedly Abraham Lincoln. Here were found some small pieces of chinaware and crockery.

On the west side of the branch and about two hundred yards north of the spring is where Abraham Lincoln was killed on the top of the incline near the bald spot.

Southeast of the spring on rising ground is a clump of trees and here is where Major Crawford lived. Applegate owned the place first. Major Crawford is referred to above. He had two children, Doctor John Crawford and George Crawford.

Mr. Proctor, pointing in that direction, said there were traces of what he thinks was an old fort. We did not visit this spot.

(I later visited the site of the fort and it appears to sustain the tradition.—W. E. B.)

M. THE JEFFERSON COUNTY RECORDS

Belief has been general that repeated fires in the court-house at Louisville have destroyed all the books in which records of the Lincoln family

might have been expected to be found. There were such fires, and they can not be charged against the Union soldiers. But while the old books are not all indexed, they have now been assembled, and the following is their condition:

I. The first deeds and other pertinent documents are in the Jefferson Court Minute Book "A" and run from 1780 to September 3, 1783. This volume is extant.
II. The first deed book, from September 3, 1783, to November 3, 1788, is preserved, and is the volume that should include any Lincoln land transfers.
III. Deed Book II, which presumably included records from November 3, 1788, to November 4, 1793, was lost in a fire.
IV. Deed Book III, from November 4, 1793, to September 7, 1795, is preserved, as are most of the books after that; but this is as far as we have need to go.

In these books there is no record of a Lincoln conveyance, nor has any record been found of adjacent lands described as having boundaries of land of Lincoln in 1781, 1782, 1783, 1784, 1785 or 1786.

This absence of record emphasizes the very short residence of the Lincoln family on the farm where the pioneer Lincoln was shot.

IV. DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THOMAS LINCOLN

A. THOMAS LINCOLN IN THE KENTUCKY TAX-LISTS

Three sets of tax-lists in Kentucky interest the seeker for knowledge concerning the Lincolns. The following are all recent discoveries, with the exception of one single year in Washington County, and that was ascribed to the wrong year:

1. Washington County, Kentucky, Tax-Lists
Discovered in Frankfort—1922

Date	Persons charged with Tax	Land (acres)	Whites males over 21	Whites males bet 16 & 21	Blacks	Horses	Cattle
1792							
Oct. 17	Berry, Richard	600	2	1	2	10	39
Oct. 10	Lincoln, Mordecai	100	1	—	—	1	—
	Lincoln, Bathsheba	—	—	1	—	1	10
1795							
July 27	Berry, Richard	400	2	—	3	10	32
	Berry, Richard Jr.	—	1	—	—	1	6
July 11	Lincoln, Thomas	—	—	1	—	—	—
	Lincoln, Mordecai	100	1	—	—	4	10
1800							
July 22	Berry, Francis	133	1	—	—	3	—
" "	Berry, Richard	133	1	—	—	4	—
" "	Berry, Rachel	133	1	—	—	4	6
April 30	Head, Jesse	54	1	2	—	2	—
May 14	Lincoln, Josiah	—	1	—	—	1	—
July 14	Lincoln, Thomas	—	1	—	—	1	—
	Lincoln, Mordecai	300	1	—	—	—	—
" "	" "	130	—	—	—	—	—
" "	" "	1950	—	—	—	—	—
" "	" "(Madison Co.)	1134	1	—	—	5	—

2. *Washington County Tax-Lists at Springfield, Kentucky*

		White males above 21	White males above 16	Blacks above 16	Total Blacks	Horses &c
1796						
May 11	Lincoln, Thomas		1			
1800						
Feb. 14	Lincorn, Thomas	1				1
1801						
Aug. 5	Lincoln, Thomas.	1				1
(1805)						
Sep. 6	Lincoln, Thomas	1				1

NOTE: The above from the Tax Commissioners' books in Washington County gives all that has been found concerning Thomas Lincoln in those records. L. A. Warren.

3. *Hardin County Tax-Lists*

	Persons Name chargeable with tax	1st rate land	2nd rate land	3rd rate land	County in which the land lies	Water Course Entered Surveyed Patented	White Males over 21	Blacks	Horses, mares, mules and jennies	Stud horses and jacks	Value of land per acre	Total value except stud horses, jacks, and Billard tables
1811 July 26	Lincoln, Thomas			200	Hardin	Mill Creek R. Stater Same Same	1	0	1			
1812	Lincoln, Thomas			200	Hardin	Mill Creek	1	0	3			
1813	Lincoln, Thomas			200	Hardin	Mill Creek	1	0	2			
1814	Lincoln, Thomas			200	Hardin	Mill Creek Rob T. Stater Same Same	1	0	3		2.00	510.
1815	Linkoln, Thomas			30	Hardin	Nob Creek	1	0	3	1	$33.	$90.
1816	Lincoln, Thomas								4		33.	90.
1817	Name not on list											55.

NOTE: The foregoing is a transcript of the tax commissioner's books in Hardin County from 1811 to 1816. The commissioner's books were distributed in April of each year and returned in August. The year 1811 is the only one which gives the month and day of the assessment.

B. THOMAS LINCOLN IN THE MILITIA

Muster Roll

A muster roll and pay-roll of the guard from the fourth regiment of Militia under the command of Lieut. Geo. Ewings ordered into service at the expense of this state for the defense of the frontiers of Washington County by orders from Brigadier General John Caldwell. Time commencing the 8th. day of June 1795 and ending the 7th. day of July 1795.

No.	Rank	Name	Time of service commenced	Time of service ended	Days in service
1	Capt.	Geo. Ewing	8th of June '95	7th of July '95	30
1	Lieut.	Nath. Hickerson	8th of June '95	7th of July '95	30
1	Priv.	John Mott	8th of June '95	7th of July '95	30
2	Priv.	John Weekly	8th of June '95	7th of July '95	30
3	Priv.	William Thomas	8th of June '95	7th of July '95	30
4	Priv.	Thomas Lincoln	8th of June '95	7th of July '95	30
5	Priv.	Walker Fowler	8th of June '95	7th of July '95	30
6	Priv.	Anthony Morgan	8th of June '95	7th of July '95	30

(Endorsements)

Aug. 6, 1795

I do certify that the above is a true statement given under my hand,

GEO. EWING.

Aug. 6, 1795

I do certify that (being first sworn) I mustered in the above guard consistent of one Leiut. one Sergt. and six privates at their commencement of and end of service given under my hand,

JEREMIAH BRISCOE.

Aug. 6, 1795

I do swear that the aforesaid guard was ordered into service by me for the protection of the Washington County, given under my hand.

JOHN CALDWELL, Brigt. Gen.

Washington Sc.

I do certify that Maj. Briscoe was sworn by me a Justice of the Peace for said County for the purpose of ministering the aforesaid guard, and also that the same guard was sworn by me to a faithful discharge of their duty. Given under my hand this 6th day of August 1795.

Approved March 26th 1796

ISAAC SHELBY.

A muster roll of form similar to the one preceding with its regular endorsements with the time of service extending from "7th of July, 1795, to 5th of August, 1795," contains Thomas Lincoln's name.

Durrett Collection
Manuscript files 1795

NOTE: A muster roll containing names of a guard that served from May, 1795, to June, 1795, did not contain the name of Thomas Lincoln.—L. A. Warren.

C. THOMAS LINCOLN IN CUMBERLAND COUNTY

The discovery of the state auditor's receipt to Thomas Lincoln for the first instalment on a certificate for two hundred acres of land in Cumberland County was made by the Kentucky State Historical Society in the spring of 1925. When I was shown the documents in this transaction I expressed the tentative judgment that this Thomas Lincoln was an uncle of the President's father. He lived near Lexington and was having domestic trouble. I thought he might have fled from it and taken up land elsewhere. But he was found to have been at home at this time. Later, when the appointment of Thomas Lincoln as constable was found in Cumberland County, with his signature attached to the bond, the autograph was compared with genuine signatures of both men, and all doubt was removed. We have here, therefore, a residence, hitherto unknown, of this "wandering laboring boy," as his son called him. Notes on this discovery are in the *Kentucky State Historical Register* for May and September, 1925. The text of these documents follows and is made from photographs taken for this work.—W. E. B.

Auditor's Receipt 1807

Received of Thomas Lincoln the Treasurer's receipt for four dollars and 43 cents, being the first Instalment with interest on a certificate, No. 158 for 200 acres of Land, in Cumb. county, granted to him by virtue of an act of assembly, for settling and improving the vacant Land of this Commonwealth.

GEORGE MADISON, A. P. A.

D. C. M.
$4.43.

Further research discloses that the two hundred acres were granted to Thomas Lincoln by the Cumberland County Court at the June term in 1801, and that the tract was surveyed, doubtless for a subsequent assignee under the original grant, though still under Lincoln's name, July 11, 1815. The land was assigned in 1807. It also discloses that Thomas Lincoln was granted ninety-eight acres of land at the August term of court in 1804. The land was entered May 24, 1805, and surveyed September 21, 1807.—W. E. B.

Thomas Lincoln's Bond as Constable

Know all men by these presents that we Thomas Lincoln & Moses Kirkpatrick, Jesse Gee are held & firmly bound unto his Excellency James Garrard, Esquire, Governor of Kentucky, in the penal sum of five hundred dollars Current money, the payment of which well & truly to be made to the said Governor and his Successors, we hereby bind Ourselves our Heirs, &c. Jointly and severally firmly by these presents sealed with our seals and dated this 12th day of January, 1802.

The Condition of the above Obligation is such that if the above bound Thomas Lincoln, a Constable of the County of Cumberland shall by himself well & truly collect all officers' fees put into his hands to collect & account for & pay the same at such time & in such manner as is directed by Law, shall well & truly execute and due returns make of all process and precepts to him directed or to him delivered and pay and satisfy all sums of money & loans by him received upon any such process or precepts to the person or persons entitled thereto and in all other things shall truly and faithfully execute & perform the said Office of Constable according to law during the term of his continuance therein, then the Above Obligation to be void else to remain in full force.

Executed in Open Court.

(Signed) Thomas Lincoln (Seal).
jesse gee (Seal).
Moses Kirkpatrick (Seal).

Teste
Isaac Taylor

Thomas Lincoln executed another bond as Constable, August 13, 1804. He appears to have owed his position to Hannaniah Lincoln, the first sheriff of Cumberland County.—W. E. B

D. THOMAS LINCOLN'S MARRIAGE BOND AND JESSE HEAD'S RETURN

(Transcribed from a photograph made for this work)

Know all men by these presents that we Thomas Lincoln and Richard Berry are held and firmly bound unto his excellency the Governor of Kentucky for the just and full sum of fifty pounds current money the payment of which well and truly be made to the said governor and his successors, we bind ourselves our heirs etc. jointly and severally firmly by these presents sealed with our seal and dated the 10th day of June 1806. The condition of the above obligation is such that whereas there is a marriage shortly intended between the above bound Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks for which a license has been issued. Now if there be no lawful cause to obstruct the said marriage then this obligation to be void or else to remain in full force or virtue in law.

Thomas Lincoln
Witness Richard Berry
John H. Parrott garden

Jesse Head's Marriage Returns:
Washington County

I do hereby certify that the following is a true list of marriages solemnized by me the subscriber from the 28th day of April 1806 until the date thereof.

June 26th 1806 joined together in the Holy Estate of Matrimony agreeable to the rules of the M. E. C.

Morris Berry and Peggy Simms
Nov. 27th 1806 David Mize & Hanah Xter
March 5 1807 Charles Ridge & Anna Davis
March 24 1807 John Head & Sally Clark
March 27th Benjamin Clark & Dolly Head
Jany 14th Edward Pyle & Rosanah McMahon
Decr 22nd 1806 Silas Chamberlin & Betsey West
June 17th 1806 John Springer & Elizabeth Ingram
June 12th 1806 Thomas Lincoln & Nancy Hanks
September 23rd 1806 John Cambron & Hanah White
October 2nd 1806 Anthony Lykey & Keziah Putte
October 23rd 1806 Aaron Harding & Hanah Pollet
April 5th 1807 Daniel Payne & Christiana Pierre

July 26th 1806 Benjamin Clark and Polly Clark
May 1806 Hugh Hoskins & Betsey Dyer
September 25th 1806 John Graham and Catherine Jones
Given under my hand this 22 day of April 1807

JESSE HEAD, D. M. E. C.

Marriage Certificates, Washington County Court.

E. THE MINISTERIAL STANDING OF REV. JESSE HEAD

1. His Standing as a Licentiate in Conference

At a meeting of the Western Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church held October 2, 1805, and duly recorded in the Minutes, Bishop Asbury presiding, Jesse Head was reported as a Deacon in good standing in that Conference.

2. His Release from Militia Duty

Jesse Head returned as a delinquent is cleared off muster roll, he having a license to preach according to the rules of the sect to which he belongs. *Washington County Book of Court Martials, May 25, 1798.*

3. His Authorization to Solemnize Marriages

On the motion of Jesse Head a minister of the Gospel of the Methodist Episcopal Church who made oath a testimonial is granted him to solemnize the rites of matrimony on his giving bond in three days in the clerks office with Edward Clarkson and William H. Clark as his securities.—*Washington County Order Book, February 7, 1803.*

Assessments of Jesse Head as Shown by the Records of Washington County, Kentucky, 1797-1805

	1797	1800	1801	1802[?]	1803	1804	1805
Acres land	50	54	4	50	12	12	4
White males above 21	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
White males above 16	1	2	2	1	1	1	1
Blacks above 16	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
Total blacks	0	0	0	3	3	3	3
Horses	1	2		1	3	3	3
Value of Town Lots	£41	15	6	18	18	18	18

STATE OF KENTUCKY
WASHINGTON COUNTY, ss:

I, J. T. Prather, Clerk of the Washington County Court, certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of the assessments of Jesse Head, as shown by the records in my office. This, July 1, 1921.

SEAL OF THE WASHINGTON COUNTY COURT

J. T. PRATHER,
Clerk, Washington County Court.

The last year in the foregoing list is not dated, because the cover of the book, which continued the year, is lost. I have satisfied myself, by several tests, that it can be of no other year than 1805. Some years are missing, and soon after the last entry above, Jesse Head removed to Harrodsburg, and his name disappears from the Washington County records. The Mercer County records show that he owned slaves as long as he could afford to do so, and somewhat longer.—W. E. B.

F. THOMAS LINCOLN PURCHASES DISHES

At the Thomas McIntire sale, January 15 and 16, 1807, a few months after the marriage of Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks, and two years before the birth of Abraham Lincoln, Mr. Warren counts one hundred and eighty items with a total value of $1319.21. It is interesting to see the relative prices brought by certain articles, of which some selected samples are given. It is supposed that Thomas Lincoln bought the sword to make over into a drawing knife or similar tool. The point of chief interest is the "dish and plates," the "bason and spoons," which Thomas bought for Nancy.—W. E. B.

Inventory of the sale of the estate of Thomas McIntire deceased with the amount of what article sold for and to whom sold on the 15 and 16 days of January 1807 by me Benjamin Helm administrator of said estate to wit:

Jos. Kirkpatrick	one heiffer	$ 1.33
Saml. Michel	one cow	8.00
Job. Dye	one sorrel horse	81.00
Ben Helm	4 deer skins	1.62
Jacob La Rue	bay colt	7.00
Joseph Paddock	5 sheep	8.50
David Swank	one wagon	50.00
Benjamine Wright	surveying instrument	36.50

Ben Helm	umbrella and frame	.50
Tobias Hendrix	glass	1.24
Samuel Hackley	one sword	7.85
Thomas Lincoln	one sword	3.00
Edward McCollister	one log chain	6.00
Lewis Brown	one plow	10.00
George Helm	15 heads of hogs	25.75
Ben Helm	table cloth	.50
William Glenn	breeches and jacket pattern	8.63
Robert Alexander	one set curtains	13.00
Joseph Bozworth	counterpin	1.00
William Brownfield	sewing table	2.83
Moses McIntire	razor and case	.50
Jacob Vertreese	bowls and viols	.33
Thomas Lincoln	dish and plates	2.68
Thomas Lincoln	bason and spoons	3.24
Peter Kermichel Jr.	flat irons	2.38
Joseph Chaflin	silver buckles	.75
Ben Helm	930 pounds pork	32.50
James Perciful	Apples	28.50

BEN HELM adm.

WILL BOOK A, 291 HARDIN COUNTY COURT.

G. THOMAS LINCOLN BUYS THE BEST HEIFER

A Partial List of the Estate of Jonathan Joseph Deceased

Sarah Joseph	one bed and furniture and bedstead	$7.00
Do	one loom quill wheel	6.25
Do	one spinning wheel	2.50
Isaac Lafollett	one wedge	.75
Henry Hill	one ax and mattox	2.12½
Thomas Lincoln	one currying comb	.63
Joshua Waide	one looking glass	.90
Thomas Gallaher	two bridles	.50
Jarrard Bowling	two sheep	2.00
Thomas Lincoln	one heiffer	9.42½
John Merrifield	one heiffer	7.19½
John O'Donald	one heiffer	5.75½

H. THOMAS LINCOLN BUYS ABRAHAM A TOY WAGON

A Partial Inventory of the Estate of Thomas Hill Deceased
This 19th of July, 1814

Mary Ann Hill	one desk	$21.00
" " "	one bed furniture and bedstead	20.00
Peter Atherton	one loom	.09
Caleb Hazel	one mans saddle	2.33 1/3
John Byrne	one mans saddle	12.00
Corley Scott	one blind bridle	1.25
Caleb Hazel	one hoe	1.16 2/3
William Carter	one raw hide	2.16 2/3
James Dewitt	linen wheel	1.00
Mary Mitchell	one yearling heiffer	1.25
Abraham Bray	24 hogs	21.00
Ben N. Mitchell	one horse	48.50
Thomas Lincoln	one truck wagon	.08 1/3

I. THE MILL CREEK FARM OF THOMAS LINCOLN

Stater to Lincoln

This indenture made this 2nd. day of September one thousand eight hundred and three, between Dr. John F. Stater of Green County and State of Kentucky, of the one part and Thomas Lincoln of Hardin County, state aforesaid of the other part *Witnesseth:* That for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred and eighteen pounds in hand paid, the receipt of which before signing and sealing of these presents, he the said Dr. John F. Stater doth hereby acknowledge have bargained and sold and by these presents doth grant, bargain and sell unto the said Thomas Lincoln a certain tract or parcel of land containing two hundred and thirty-eight acres, part of the 1600 acre survey patented to William May, bought by said Stater of Joseph Fenwick and bounded as follows, to wit; Beginning at a hickory corner to Robert Huston survey, part of said 1600 acre survey, thence South thirty degrees west one hundred and eighty-three poles to a stake corner to Huston, thence North forty five degrees West one hundred and fifty five poles to a black oak corner to the original survey North twenty four degrees West one hundred and forty poles to a white oak in

Shepherds line corner to the original, thence North thirty one degrees West fifty poles to a dogwood white oak and gum corner to Thomas Williams in the original line, thence with Williams line South sixty seven East two hundred and fifty poles to a white oak and hickory South 31 degrees West twenty poles to the beginning. . . .

To have and to hold the above mentioned two hundred and thirty eight acres of land with all its appurtenances barns, stable, ways, houses, water and conveniences, to the above mentioned Thomas Lincoln his heirs executors and administrators forever against him, the said Dr. John F. Stater, his heirs executors or administrators forever, and he the said Dr. John F. Stater as well for his heirs as for himself doth further covenant and agree to and with the said Thomas Lincoln and his heirs that he will warrant and forever defend the above mentioned two hundred and thirty eight acres of land with all of its appurtenances to the said Thomas Lincoln his heirs executors and administrators forever to their proper use and behalf, against him the said Dr. John F. Stater and his heirs executors, etc. forever, but not against the claim or claims of any person or persons whatever, but—be it plainly understood should said land be taken by any prior or legal claim, then the above bound Dr. John F. Stater his heirs executors are to pay to the said Thomas Lincoln his heirs, executors etc., the above mentioned sum of one hundred and eighteen pounds. In witness of the above bound Dr. John F. Stater doth hereunto set his hand and affix his seal the day and date above written.

JOHN F. STATER (Seal)

Marginal note:

Delivered to Thomas Lincoln April 23, 1814.

Hardin County;

Sct. s. s.

I hereby certify that on the second day of September last this indenture . . . from John F. Stater to Thomas Lincoln was acknowledged by the said Stater to be his act and deed and the same was admitted to record on this 26th day of November 1803.

BENJAMIN HELM, H. C. C.

DEED BOOK B, 253, HARDIN COUNTY COURT.

Thomas and Nancy Lincoln to Charles Melton

This indenture made this twenty seventh day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fourteen between Thomas Lin-

coln and Nancy his wife of the County of Hardin and the State of Kentucky, of the one part and Charles Melton of the county and state aforesaid of the other part, witnesseth;

That the said Thomas Lincoln and Nancy his wife, has this day granted bargained and sold, and by these presents doth grant bargain and sell, alein and confirm unto the said Charles Melton a certain parcel or tract of land containing 200 acres of land for and in consideration of one hundred pounds to the said Lincoln and Nancy his wife and in hand paid by the said Milton the receipt whereof is acknowledged, which land was patented in the name of William May and is conveyed from John Tom Stater to Thomas Lincoln of deed bearing the date the 2nd of September 1803, lying and being in Hardin County on the waters of Mill Creek and bounded as follows:

Beginning at a hickory corner to Robert Houston's survey, part of a sixteen hundred acre survey, thence south 30 degrees west 183 poles to a stake corner to Houston, thence north 45 degrees west 155 poles to a black oak, corner of the original survey, north 24 degrees west 140 poles to a white oak in Shepherd's line, corner to the original, thence 31 degrees west 60 poles to a dogwood white oak and gum corner to Thomas Williams in the original line, thence with Williams line south 67 east 250 poles to a white oak and hickory, south 31 degrees west 22 poles to the beginning, which courses contain 238 acres, and the said Melton is at liberty to take 200 acres out of the said 238 acres where he thinks proper and the said Lincoln and Nancy his wife does forever warrent and defend the said 200 acres of land from themselves and their heirs executors, administrators and assigns forever, to the said Melton, but not from the claim or claims of any other person. But if the said land should be lost by any better or prior claim then the said Lincoln is to pay the said Melton the sum of 100 pounds. In witness whereof the said Thomas Lincoln and Nancy his wife hath hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals the day and date before written. Interlined before signing

THOMAS LINCOLN (seal)
her
NANCY x HANKS
mark

Hardin County sct.

I Samuel Haycraft, Jr., Deputy Clerk of the county court for the county aforesaid, do hereby certify that on the day of the date hereof, Thomas Lincoln and Nancy his wife, personally appeared before me and acknowl-

edged the within indenture or deed of bargain and sale to Charles Melton as and for their voluntary act and deed, she the said Nancy being at the same time examined by me separate and voluntarily relinquished her right of dower which she has or may have in and to the land hereby conveyed and that she was willing that the same should be recorded and that I have truly recorded the same this 27th day of October 1814

SAMUEL HAYCRAFT, JR. D. C., H. C. C.

DEED BOOK E, 193, HARDIN COUNTY COURT.

J. THOMAS LINCOLN'S TITLE TO THE SINKING SPRING FARM

Mr. Warren discovered a number of interesting documents relating to the Sinking Spring Farm, on which Abraham Lincoln was born, of which the following is of special interest as showing that Thomas Lincoln bought and owned the farm on which Abraham was born, though the farm was lost through the failure of David Vance to fulfill his agreement. —W. E. B.

Articles of agreement made this first day of May 1805 between Richard Mather of the County of Hardin and State of Kentucky and David Vance of the county and state aforesaid witnesseth that I have sold to the said David Vance a tract or parcel of land, on the waters of the South Fork of Nolin containing 300 acres; beginning at or near a spring called the Sinking Spring to be twice as long as wide and to include as much of a grove called the Little Turkey Grove as will fall within the boundary of aforesaid. And I do oblige myself to make a deed with a general warrantee to the said David Vance, when the said David Vance has made full payment to Richard Mather or his order for the aforesaid land in witness whereof we have interchangeably set our hands the day and year above written. RICHARD MATHER.

Witnesses present;

JOHN GUM, SHEPHERD GUM

Indorsements:

(1) For value received I assign the within agreement to Isaac Bush. Given under my hand and seal this 2nd. day of Nov. 1805.

Test. DAVID VANCE.

BEN HELM, JOHN MILLER

(2) For value received I assign the within article to Thomas Lincoln witness my hand and seal the 12th. day of December 1808.

Test. ISAAC BUSH.

SAM HAYCRAFT.

EQUITY PAPERS OF THE HARDIN CIRCUIT COURT.

K. THE KNOB CREEK EJECTMENT SUIT

The Knob Creek farm was partly paid for by Thomas Lincoln and a deed was delayed. The suit against Thomas Lincoln as tenant was filed in the curious old "John Doe and Richard Roe" form. These papers show that Lincoln won in the first trial but removed before the final hearing. —W. E. B.

1. Thomas Stout and others vs. Thomas Lincoln—Bill

John Doe complains of Richard Roe in custody of a plea of trespass and ejectment for on the first day of Jan. 1815 at the circuit aforesaid Thomas Stout heir at law of Frances Stout who was one of the heirs of Thomas Middleton deceased, and Hannah Rhodes the other heir of Thomas Middleton deceased, did demise lease and to let unto the said John Doe a certain tract or parcel of land lying and being in the circuit aforesaid containing 10,000 acres with the appurtenances, and patented in the name of the said Thomas Middleton lying on the south side of the Rolling Fork to have and to hold . . . Mr. Thomas Lincoln, Tenant in possession.

You will perceive by the foregoing declaration in ejectment that I am sued for the premises mentioned or some part thereof in your possession to which I have no claim or title. If therefore you have any thereto and intend to defend it you must appear at the courthouse in Elizabethtown on the first day of our next March Term of Hardin Circuit Court and make your defense otherwise I shall suffer judgment to pass against me by default and you will be turned out of possession.

Your loving friend, RICHARD ROE

15th Sept. 1815.

Indorsements:

1815, Dec. 27, Executed on the within named Thomas Lincoln tenant in possession of the premises, by delivering him a copy of the within declaration of ejectment and the notice thereunder written, and at the same time explaining to him it was a suit for the land on which he lived.

ROBT. MCCLURE, Dp. for A. Coombs S. H. C.

1816, Feb. 12 Filed. Attest SAM HAYCRAFT

1816, March, Leave to take depositions if security be given during the present term and continued.

1816, June, Thomas Lincoln and George Lindsey made defendants.

Dismissed for plaintiff to take depositions.

Ordered survey for plaintiff. Continued.

1816, Sept. Continued at pltfs. cost and survey ordered.

1817, March, Ordered survey and continued.

1817, June, Ordered survey for pltf. and continued.

1817, Sept. Dismissed for pltfs. and defts. to take depositions. Continued.

1818, March, Orders for pltfs. and defts. to take depositions of John Thomas etc. Continued.

1818, June, Jury Verdict for the defts.

We of the Jury find for the defts.

ROBERT BELL, FOREMAN.

2. *Stout vs Lincoln—Notice*

Mr. William Brownfield, Thomas Lincoln, Isaac La Follett, Jess La Follett, Clark Tucker, Peter Minges, Job Dye, William Ash, George Redmond, Ignatius Strange, take notice that on the third and fourth Mondays of August next we shall at the home of Abraham Sheridan in the city of Philadelphia, Penn. to take the deposition of Thos. Shields, William Troutwine, Conrod Hanse, George Ingles and others . . .

June 14, 1816

We are yours

ABRAHAM SHERIDAN

THOS. STOUT

HANNAH RHODES

3. *Sheridan vs Lindsey and Lincoln, Bill of Exceptions*

Upon the trial of this case it appears that Thomas Lincoln was the tenant in possession upon whom the declaration in ejectment was levied, and who was admitted and now is a deft. in this action. It appears that George Lindsey was also admitted a deft. with the said Lincoln after the pltf. had read the patent marked A to Thomas Middleton made part thereof in this offense. . . . The legal notice of time, place of taking the depositions afsd. had been served on the deft. Thomas Lincoln, no service upon the deft. Lindsey. It appeared he was then in the County of Breckenridge and his counsel stated was the land lord of Lincoln and employed them to defend the suit. The defts. counsel objected to the reading of the said dep. as witness against either or both defts. The pltf. contended as to the deft. Lincoln the tenant in the actual possession the dep. could be read if not against the other defts. The court excludes the dep. afsd. to

which the pltfs. accept it. It prays the above was all the witness offered on either side.

N. B. The service of notice was after Lincoln was made a co-deft. It appears that Lincoln had moved off the place in the fall of 1816 after the depositions were taken.

ALFRED METCALF (Seal)

L. SALLY LINCOLN'S LOT IN ELIZABETHTOWN

This indenture made this seventeenth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighteen between Samuel Haycraft and Peggy his wife of the County of Hardin and the State of Kentucky of the one part and Sarah Johnston of the county and state aforesaid of the other part witnesseth; that the same Samuel Haycraft and Peggy his wife for and in consideration of the sum of twenty-five dollars for them in hand paid . . . do sell to the said Sarah Johnston her heirs and assignees forever one undivided moiety or half part of a certain lot or piece of ground containing one acre and one quarter near Elizabethtown . . . it being the same lot for which the said Sarah Johnston holds a bond on the said Samuel Haycraft dated the 12th. day of February 1817. The moeity hereby conveyed is to be taken off the end adjoining Ben Helm's and to include the house the said Sarah Johnston now lives in . . .

SAM HAYCRAFT. (Seal)
her
PEGGY x HAYCRAFT
mark

DEED BOOK G, 231, HARDIN COUNTY COURT.

V. WHO'S WHO OF HANKSES

A LIST OF HANKS FAMILIES IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE FIRST CENSUS

The first United States Census was taken in 1790; but it included certain districts in Virginia, and possibly other states, where there had been enumerations in 1782, 1783, 1784 and possibly other years prior to 1790. In Hampshire County, Virginia, the returns are for 1782; in Richmond County in 1783. The returns of this first census are not complete, but as no Hankses, except the two families in Bedford County, have been found in other research who do not seem to be included here, it is probable that few are omitted.

In Virginia there were	6 Hanks families	and	40 individuals
In Massachusetts	5 families	and	26 individuals
In Connecticut	5 families	and	37 individuals
In Vermont	4 families	and	19 individuals
In New York	4 families	and	33 individuals
In North Carolina	9 families	and	51 individuals
In South Carolina	1 family	and	11 individuals
Total	34 families	and	217 individuals

Of the above Hanks families only two owned slaves, Turner in Virginia owning two, and Arguile in North Carolina owning one. To these we should add the two families of Richard and James Hanks, originally of Richmond County, then for a decade each of Amelia, and subsequently of Bedford, and adjacent counties in Virginia.

I have not included in this list two families named Hank in the Shenandoah Valley, who appear to have been of the Pennsylvania German Hanke family.

April 9, 1928.

My dear Dr. Barton:

In compliance with your request of March 26, 1928, there is inclosed a statement showing the data returned for all heads of families named

Hanks, appearing in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia, at the First Census, 1790. No heads of families named Hanks were reported in Rhode Island, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, or Maine.

Very truly yours,

W. M. STEWART, Director.

FIRST CENSUS: 1790—MASSACHUSETTS

Name of head of family	Free white males of 16 years and upward, including heads of families	Free white males under 16 years	Free white females, including heads of families	All other free persons	Slaves
		Hampshire County			
Belchertown town					
Hanks, Jacob	1	1	3	—	—
Hanks, Benja.	1	2	3	—	—
Hanks, Ebenr.	1	2	4	—	—
Hanks, James	1	1	3	—	—
		Plymouth County			
Duxborough town					
Hanks, John	1	—	3	—	—

FIRST CENSUS: 1790—SOUTH CAROLINA

Ninety-Six District, Pendleton County

Hanks, Ann	2	3	6	—	—

FIRST CENSUS: 1790—CONNECTICUT

Windham County

Ashford town					
Hanks, Benjn.	1	2	3	—	—
Hanks, John	2	3	2	—	—
Mansfield town					
Hanks, Benjan	2	3	3	—	—
Hanks, Uriah	3	2	3	—	—
Hanks, Silas	2	1	6	—	—

FIRST CENSUS: 1790—VERMONT

Name of head of family	Free white males of 16 years and upward, including heads of families	Free white males under 16 years	Free white females, including heads of families	All other free persons	Slaves
		Addison County			
Addison town					
Hanks, Levi	1	1	2	—	—
		Rutland County			
Pawlet town					
Hanks, William	2	1	2	—	—
Hanks, Arunah	1	—	1	—	—
		Orange County			
Thetford town					
Hanks, Asa	2	3	3	—	—

FIRST CENSUS: 1790—NEW YORK

		Albany County			
Cambridge town					
Hanks, Willm	1	1	3	—	—
Rensselaerwick town					
Hanks, Frederich,	2	2	2	—	—
Stephentown town					
Hanks, Benjn.	3	4	5	—	—
		Washington County			
Argyle town					
Hanks, Isaac	1	2	4	—	—

FIRST CENSUS: 1790—NORTH CAROLINA

		Halifax District, Halifax County			
Hanks, Luke	1	—	2	—	—
		Morgan District, Lincoln County			
Eleventh Company					
Hanks, Rd.	1	1	2	—	—
Hanks, Jas.	1	2	4	—	—

Newbern District, Dobbs County

Name of head of family	Free white males of 16 years and upward, including heads of families	Free white males under 16 years	Free white females, including heads of families	All other free persons	Slaves
Hanks, Epaphroditus	1	3	1	—	—
Hanks, Moot	1	2	4	—	—
Newbern District, Wayne County					
Hanks, John	2	2	5	—	—
Salisbury District, Mecklenburg County					
Hanks, Thomas	1	1	1	—	—

TAXPAYERS IN GRANVILLE COUNTY, 1788

Henderson District *State Records—North Carolina—1790*

Persons' Names	White Polls	Black Polls	Amount Both	Acres Land Granville County	Acres Land over the Mountains	Acres Land Williamsboro	Carriage Wheels	Gals. Spirituous Liquors	Gallons Molasses
William Hanks	3	3	6	500	—	—	—	—	—

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Island Creek District—Taken by S. Smith, Jun., J. P.

Persons' Names	Land	County	Whites	Blacks	Wheels	Head Horses and their price
Arguile Hanks,	115	———	1	1	—	—

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FIRST CENSUS: 1790, VIRGINIA

In The Virginia Census of 1782-5, incorporated in U. S. Census of 1790. Not counting two families named Hanke, who probably were not Hankses, there were six Hanks families, three of them in Richmond County, one in Middlesex across the Rappahannock, Joseph in Hampshire and Moses in Pittsylvania.

Persons in families:

Richmond:

John 4

George 3

Turner 9 and 2 black, total in Richmond County 16 white

Persons in families:
Middlesex
George 5
Hampshire
Joseph 11
Pittsylvania
Moses 8 a total of 40 Hankses known to have been in Virginia.

These reports comprise all Hanks families listed in the census of 1790. While the papers from a few counties are missing, it is not likely that any family of the name of Hanks resident in the United States in that year is now unknown to us. There were no Hankses in Amelia or Lancaster; but two families, those of James and Richard, both born in Richmond County, and for a time resident in Amelia, are believed to have been in Bedford, one of the counties whose lists have not been preserved, or in near-by counties to which they had migrated after leaving Amelia.—W. E. B.

THE FAMILY OF HANK

JOHN HANK. 6 all white Shenandoah County, 1785
MARGARET HANK. 4 all white, Rockingham County.

As these two families are in the section near Pennsylvania and among Pennsylvania German families, and I discover no relationship between them and the Hanks family, I judge these two to have been of the German family of Hanke.—W. E. B.

VI. THE HANKS FAMILY IN RICHMOND COUNTY, VIRGINIA

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS, FROM COURT AND PARISH RECORDS, WITH GUARDIANSHIP BONDS, INSCRIPTIONS ON TOMBSTONES AND OTHER LOCAL RECORDS

RECORD OF BIRTHS

(Children of William and Sarah Hanks:)

William, b. Feb. 14, 1679, in North Farnham Parish, Richmond County, Va.

(Children of William and Hester (Mills) Hanks:)

William, b. May 26, 1712.
Hannah, b. Feb. 14, 1717.
Sarah, b. Feb. 22, 1720.
Richard, b. Aug. 14, 1723.
Thomas, b. July 26, 1728.
James, b. Feb. 12, 1732.

(Children of Luke and Sarah Hanks:)

Martha, b. May 26, 1752.

(Children of Turner and Million Hanks:)

Mary, b. May 20, 1761.
Hannah, b. June 3, 1767.

(Children of Turner and Sarah Hanks:)

George, b. June 22, 1769.
Luke, b. May 17, 1771.
Raleigh, b. April 1, 1773.
Pitman, b. Dec. 3, 1776.
Chichester, b. May 31, 1781.

(Children of Joseph and Ann (Lee) Hanks:)

Betty, b. Mar. 4, 1771.

(Children of John and Susanna Hanks:)
Elijah, b. Oct. 19, 1766.

(Children of Thomas and Betty (Lee) Hanks:)
Joseph, b. Feb. 21, 1764.
Nancy, b. Sept. 15, 1766.

(Children of John and Mary Hanks:)
Mott, b. April 21, 1742.

(Children of George and Elizabeth Hanks:)
Winney, b. Oct. 27, 1781.
Born—Charlotte, daughter of Ann Hanks, Dec. 25, 1740.
Born George Nash, son of Judith Hanks—April 30, 1778.

(Children of John and Catherine Hanks:)
William, b. Mar. 8, 1715.
Eleanor, b. Mar. 18, 1717.
Elizabeth, b. Oct. 18, 1720.
Catherine, b. Oct. 4, 1723 [1].
Sarah, b. April 7, 1723.
Joseph, b. Dec. 20, 1725.
John, b. May 4, 1728.
Thomas, b. July 1, 1732.
Alex^{r}:, b. Dec. 2, 1734.

(Children of William and Sarah (Durham) Hanks:)
Elijah, b. Dec. 17, 1740.
Million, b. Aug. 21, 1742.
Judith, b. Dec. 29, 1744.
Argill, b. Feb. 2, 1746.
Susanna, b. Sept. 19, 1749.
Hannah, b. Feb. 11, 1752.

(Children of Luke and Elizabeth Hanks:)
Alex.^{r}, b. Oct. 31, 1719.
Lucretia, b. June 1, 1722.
Turner, b. June 18, 1737.

(Children of William and Hannah Hanks:)
Susanna, b. Dec. 18, 1725.

GUARDIANS BONDS

George Hanks
and Luke Hanks

Guardians of
Pitman Hanks,
Orphan of Turner Hanks dec'd. 6th Oct., 1794

Richmond County Records
Book: "Guardians Bonds, 1824 to 1850"

Dec. 2, 1833: Ewell Hanks, Guardian of his Children:
LUKE HANKS
OLIVER HANKS
JOHN HANKS
GEORGE HANKS
(Joseph Dale on Bond)
P. 76

Aug. 7, 1837: Ewell Webb, Guardian of GEORGE HANKS—Orphan of Ewell Hanks, dec'd.
(Thaddeus C. Stott on Bond)
P. 108

Sept. 4, 1837: Elizabeth Hanks, Guardian of JOSEPH T. HANKS—Orphan of Ewell Hanks—
(Wm. Miskell
T. C. Stott
Philip Pursell
P. 109 on Bond)

HANKS MARRIAGES

William Hanks married Sarah Durham January 26, 1738
This William was son of John Hanks. Another William, son of William Hanks,Sr., married Hester Mills.

Luke Hanks and Levina Stott, married January 4, 1792.
Daughter of John & Lucy M. Stott.
Witnesses: (Leroy Stott on bond)
William Palmer
John Nash

Elinor Hanks and Samuel Barnes, married March 21, 1792.
(John Nash on bond)

Hannah Hanks and James Stott, married April 4, 1795.
(Leroy Stott on bond)
Ewell Hanks and Sally C. Stott, married January 4th, 1814.
(Eppa: Stott on bond)
Note of consent from Mary Stott, mother—same date.

Sally Hanks and Samuel Barnes, married February 7, 1827.
Witness:
Ewell Hanks

Turner Hanks and Catherine Wroe, married March 29, 1836.
Daughter of Winnifred Clarke, who was also her Guardian.
Witnesses:
Shadrack Clarke
William Thornton

Joseph T. Hanks and Judith P. Hanks, married September 12, 1837.
Joseph T. Hanks under age; Elizabeth Hanks, his Guardian, consented.
Judith P. Hanks was over 21 yrs. old.

Turner Hanks and Jane Lowery, married July 2, 1839.
Witnesses: Shadrack Clarke and John L. Nash.

Luke S. Hanks and Lucy Armstrong, married November 14, 1842.
Witnesses: B. Armstrong
Edwin L. Dodson

William E. Hanks and Virginia Dunaway, married December 8, 1856.
Witness: J. W. Bryant.

From Marriage Register (1853-1905)
(All married in Richmond County unless otherwise stated)

William F. Luttrell and Willie M. Hanks, married Nov. 28, 1877, by Rev. J. B. DeBerry; ages: 21 and 19; both single; both born R. Co.
Son of Joseph and Rebecca Luttrell;

Daughter of William E. and Virginia Hanks.
Occupation of Groom: Farmer.
P. 43

John S. Bachelor and Bettie A. Hanks, married Feb. 23, 1887, by Rev. Robert Williamson; both single; ages 27 and 25. He was born Kent Co., Md. She was born R. Co.
Son of John Hy. Bachelor and Mary A., his wife;
Daughter of William E. and Virginia A. Hanks.
Occupation of Groom: Oysterman.
P. 69

Andrew J. Norris and Emma E. Hanks, married May 2, 1889, by Rev. Robert Williamson; both single. He was born Lancaster Co. She was born R. Co.; ages 27 and 25;
Son of Henry C. and Elizabeth Norris;
Daughter of William E. and Virginia Hanks.
Occupation of Groom: Farmer.
P. 74

Richard H. Luckham and Nannie V. Hanks, married July 9, 1891, by Rev. J. M. Dunaway. Both single; ages 29 and 20; both born R. Co.
Son of Thomas B. and Mary Luckham;
Daughter of William E. and Virginia Hanks.
Occupation of Groom: Farmer.
P.80

James Morris and Ida May Hanks, married March 9, 1892, by Rev. J. Manning Dunaway; both single; ages 22 and 22. He was born in Westmoreland Co. She was born R. Co.
Son of Joseph and Elizabeth Morris;
Daughter of William and Virginia Hanks.
P. 82

George E. Meekins and Lorena O. Hanks, married June 25, 1901, by Rev. Richard Edwards; both single; ages 21 and 19;
Son of Wm. Z. and Mary Meekins;
Daughter of A. Z. and T. F. Rock.
Occupation of Groom: Fisherman.
P. 105

A. F. Douglass and Catherine A. Hanks, married June 5, 1895, by Rev. Richard Edwards; both single; ages 23 and 17. He was born Northumberland Co. She was born R. Co.

Son of Milton and Alice Douglass;

Daughter of William E. and Virginia Hanks.

Occupation of Groom: Carpenter.

P. 89

Thomas R. Hanks and Sadie P. Biscoe, married November 15, 1905, by Rev. Frank Barnard; both single; ages 37 and 27; both born R. Co.

Son of G. W. and W. A. Hanks;

Dau. of Melville and Isabella Biscoe.

Occupation of Groom: Merchant.

P. 106

Millard Hanks and Lucilla Luckham, married December 6, 1905, by Rev. A. D. Reynolds; both single; both born R. Co.; ages 25 and 16.

Son of William E. and Virginia Hanks;

Daughter of J. B. and E. V. Luckham.

Occupation of Groom: Sawmilling.

P. 117

Marriage Register: (the current one)

Benjamin D. Willey and Ilva C. Hanks, married R. Co., January 1, 1918, by Rev. E. W. Davis; both single; ages 19 and 21. He was born in Lancaster Co. She was born R. Co.

Son of Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Willey;

Daughter of K. W. and L. T. Hanks.

Occupation of Groom: Store-clerk.

P. 21

John Oliver Hanks and Gertrude Sisson, married R. Co., December 25, 1923, by Rev. L. B. Underwood; both single; ages 57 and 38; both born Richmond Co.;

Son of George William and Willie Ann (Clarke) Hanks;

Daughter of Henry Jeter and Roberta (Bell) Sisson.

Occupation of Groom: Farmer.

P. 29

Inscription from two gravestones in Farnham Baptist Church Cemetery

WILLIAM E. HANKS
Born
Dec. 1st 1834,
Died
Nov. 27th 1900

JOHN E. HANKS
Born
April 3rd 1821
Died
June 15th 1887

VII. DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THOMAS HANKS

A. HEADRIGHT CERTIFICATE OF THOMAS HANKS, RECORDED 1654

To all &c. Whereas &c. Now know yee that I the Sd. Rich. Bennett Esq. &c. give & grant unto Mr. Thomas Fowke Merchant three Thousand three hundred and fifty Acres of land Situated in Westmorland County upon the South Side of Potomack river bounding as followeth (vizt) S South and South West upon Potomack Creeks North West and North into the Woods North East upon a main Swamp upon the head of a branch of Potomack Creek which devideth this land a tract of land commonly known by the name of the Fort land East and South East upon the said branch. The said land being due unto the said Tho. Fowkes (vizt) two thousand Acres of land part hereof being formerly granted by pattent unto Mr. Jane Harmer and dated ye first of December 1652, and by the said Harmer Assigned unto ye Sd. Fowke and thirteen hundred and fifty Acres ye residue by and for the Transportation of Twenty Seaven Persons into the Collony &c. to have and to hold &c. Yielding and paying &c, which payment is to be made &c. Dated ye 10 of June 1654.

Gerard Fowke	Robert Mosley	Tho. Gray	Mary Joyner
Tho. Fowke	Wm. Newell	Ben Price	John Haten
John Bayley	Edwd. Carey	Tho. Hanks	John Draper
Robt. Dycott	Rich. Granger	Charles Gregory	Hannah
Rich. Holbar	Robt. Land	Henry Hatburn	Brid. Carey
John Holbar			

Mary Peneale
Wm. Walden
Rich. Horten
John Martin
John Coule

Patent Book 3
Page 301,
Land Office,
Richmond, Va.

B. LANCASTER COUNTY RECORDS, 1653-1655

1. Will of Robert Mascall—1653

Notes by Rev. L. R. Combs, Lancaster, Va.

Robert Mascall WILL—Sept. 27, 1653

Bequeaths to Wm. Newsom

to Richard Coleman 5 shillings

to Thomas Hanks one marked young sow on both the ears with the Swallow forke.

Teste:

THOMAS HANKS

ROBERT PARE

Deeds & Wills Bk. 2 (1654-1702) Page 10.

2. Tithables of Lancaster County, Virginia, in 1654

The entire list with notes by W. G. Stanard is in the *Virginia Historical Society Magazine* for October, 1897; Volume V, pp. 158-159. The notes extend to succeeding numbers. I quote here only that part of the list assigned to Thomas Brice, which included Thomas Hanks and the minister of the parish. These appear all to have been in the section of what was then Lancaster but later became Essex, on the South side of the Rappahannock.—W. E. B.

Mr. Thomas Brice to collect from these: himself 9; Thos. Hardinge 1; Capt. Hacke 2; Thos. Powe 2; Walter Dickinson 6; Mr. Edwards 4; Thos Hopkins 4; Thos. Roots 1; Dominie 4; Widow Grimes 4; Edward Dudley 1; John Merriman 2; Wm. Neesham 6; MR. HANKES; Mr. Beach 3; John Power 7.

3. Three Years' Lease of Abraham Moone to Thomas Hanks

Know all men by these presents that I, Abraham Moone, of the County of Lancaster, for & in consideration of a bill of sixteen thousand pound of tobo & cask to me past by Thomas Hanks bearing date with these prsnts have bargained, assigned & set over unto the said Thomas Hanks my psent plantation housing & four servants & 1 mare, which lately I purchased of Edward Diggs Esqr for the term & space of three years quickly & peaceably to injoy the same without hindrance or molestation

of me the sd Moone my Exors admrs or any of them for the time aforesd. Whereas one of the sd servants hath but til this crop to serve I do hereby oblige myself my heirs Exors Admrs or assigns to put another servant in his room for to perform the aforsd service. Only I reserve to myselfe & wife house room with accommodations for ourselfes & one servant and for the true pformance hereof I bind me myself my Exors admus or any of them firmly by these psents: Witness hereof I have hereunto set my hand the 10 day of February 1654. Further I do grant unto the sd Tho. Hanks the benefit of timber or any other privilege or privilidges whatsoever.

P. Me. ABRAHAM MOONE.

Sealed & delivered in the
presence of
JOHN BUCKNER
ERASMUCH CHAMLEY

Recognit 6 die Jany & recordat 12
die & in ano 1655.

Post Script

Mr. Phillips pray acknowledge the aforesd deed for my use to bearer as my real act & deed.

Dated ut supra

Lancaster County Deed Book 2, page 15.

4. *Abraham Moone's Patent, 1653*

TO ALL to WHOM &c. Whereas by ye articles &c. Know ye that I ye sd Rich. Bennett Esqr do in the name of the keepers of the Liberites of England by authority of Parliament with ye consent of ye Counsell of state accordingly give & grant unto Abra: Moone three hundred acres of land situated in ye County of Lanc'r upon ye N. W. side of Nyemkock creek oposite to another tract of land of ye Abra: Moone's bounded as followeth: Beginning upon Cedar point upon ye head of sd Hen. Chickley's Dividend of 200 acres now in ye possession of Tho: Kid & extending into ye woods N.W. 320 po: & from thence paralell with Nyemkock creek S.W. 150 po. & S.W. upon Nyemkock N.E. upon ye land now in possession of Tho Kid ye sd Land being due &c dated ye 19 of 8ber 1653.

RI: BENNETT
WM. CLAYBORN, Sec'r

Lancaster County Deed Bood 2, page 87

5. Estate of Abraham Moone, 1655

At a quarter Court helde at James Citty
the 17th Mar., 1655:
Inventory of John Curtys admster of Estate of Abraham Moone & all other . . . referred to Lancr. Ct.—20th Apr. 1656.
NICHO: MERYWETHER. (Clerk Counc.l)
Book No. 1, page 269

C. THE SEVEN LAND PATENTS ISSUED TO THOMAS HANKS, 1653-1674

1. February 16, 1653, One Hundred Acres

To all &c. Whereas &c. Now Know yee that I the said Richard Bennett Esq., &c. give and grant unto Thomas Hancks one hundred Acres of Land Situate in Glouscer County in the Woods upon the North East Side of a Swamp upon the head of Arakiaco Swamp upon the South East Side of Mettopony River bounded on the South West Side with the Said Swamp on the South East with another branch of the Said Swamp North East into the Woods North West upon Hanckes branch of the said Swamp. The Said Land being due unto the Said Thomas Hanck by and for the Transportacon of two Person into this Collony &c. to have and to hold &c. Yielding and paying &c. which payment is to be made &c. Dated ye 16th of Feby. 1653.

JOANE LITEFOOT JOHN RANGE

Patent Book 3, p. 369.

2. April 8, 1663, Five Hundred and Thirty Acres

To all &c. Whereas &c. Now Know yee that I the said Sir William Berkeley Knight Governor &c. give and grant unto Tho. Hanckes five hundred and thirty Acres of Land in New Kent County & on the branches of Peanketanke Swamp beginning at a hickory at the head of a valley of *Coll. Lee* his land, running West North West ¼ West 530 poles to a hickory by Colliers branch then South South West ¼ South 160 poles to a white oake by a Marshey branch thence East South East ¼ east 530 poles to a red oak thence N. N. E. ¼ North 160 poles to the hickory where it first began. The said land being due to the said Hankes for transportation of eleven persons &c. To have and to hold &c. To be held &c. Yielding and paying &c. Provided &c. Dated the 8th of Aprill, 1663.

PHILL. MARTIN	HENRY BENSON	EDWARD DOWNES
JOSEPH GREGORY	WM. GRAY	RABECCA HUBBARD
MATH. ABRALL	SAMLL. SINLESSE	FRA. WEEKES
FRANCIS FRITH	JNO. FREEKE.	

Patent Book 5, p. 267.

3. April 18, 1663, Five Hundred and Twenty-Seven Acres

To all &c. Whereas &c. Now Know yee that I the said Sir Wm. Berkeley Knight, Governor &c. Give and grant unto Tho. Hankes five hundred twenty seaven acres of Land in New Kent County and on the head branches of Poropotanke Swamp beginning at a poplar that stands on the South side of the said Swamp and running North West by North 8 (80) poles to a chesnutt North east by East 27 poles to a red oake North East ¼ North 142 poles to a white oake East South East 320 poles to a red oake then South by West 100 poles to a white oake by the head of a branch then West South West ½ South 122 poles to a hiccory by the first mentioned Swamp then down the said Swamp to the place where it began. The said Land being due unto the said Hanckes for transportation of eleaven persons. To have and to hold &c. To be held &c. Yeilding and Paying &c. Provided &c. Dated the 8th Aprill, 1663.

DAVID JONES	MARY CROWN	PETER BROOKES
RICH. FOXON	PETER STORY	EDWARD THORDALL
THO. ARNOLL	BROWN UNDRIX	SYMON GRAVES
GEO. EDMONDS	WM. TOMPSON	

Old Volume 5, p. 298.

4. October 8, 1667, Three Hundred Acres

To all &c. Whereas &c. Now know yee that I the said Sir William Berkeley, Knight, Governor &c. give and grant unto Thomas Hankes three hundred acres of Land lying on the branches of Peanketanke Swamp and Poropotanke, beginning at a white oake of an other Devident of Land of the said Hankes and lying on Peanketanke branches and in the line of marked trees of *Coll. Lees Land* runing South to Rappahanock path and Easterly by the said path to a white oake by a branch then up the branch So. E. 60 poles then S. by W. 140 poles to a white oake corner of an other

Devident of Land of the said Tho. Hankes lying on the branches of Poroptanke Swampe then by the said land So. W. ½ S. 72 poles to a white oake in a branch then up the branch N. 60 poles to two chesnutts and a Spanish oake then W. N. W. 200 poles to a redd oake by a branch, then N. 160 poles to a white oake, then E. N. E. ¼ East 160 poles by the first mentioned Devident to the place where it began. The said land being due by and for the Transportation of Six persons &c. To have and to hold &c. To be held &c. Yielding and paying &c. Provided &c. Dated the eighth day of October 1667.

EDWARD ROE 2 tymes
HANNAH WILSON
JOHN LAW
EDWARD ROPER
FRANCIS PERSELL.

Book 6, p. 94.
Va. Land Office.

5. October 23, 1673, Two Hundred and Sixty-Four Acres

THOMAS HANCKS, 264 Acres, October 23, 1673, Gloucester & New Kent. Beginning at 2 red oaks upon the hillside by Samuel Huckstep's branch and running thence N. E. 6 N. ½ N. 120 po. to 2 Spanish Oaks, then N. W. by W. ½ W. 352 po. to a gum at the head of a branch in Peanketank Swamp on Dragon Swamp, then S. W. 6, S. ½ S. 120 po. to a small red oak near John Fringoes Plantation thence S. E. 6 E. ½ E. 352 po. to the place it first began. For the transportation of 6 persons: Robert James, James Pruglaste, Mary Huttson, Wm. Trueston, Jno Ward.

Book 6, p. 272.

6. October 23, 1673, Five Hundred Acres

THOMAS HANCKS, 500 acres, October 23, 1673, Gloucester County. Upon the head branches of Poropotank Swamp beginning at a white oak in a branch, being in a former line of the said Hanks his land and running then along his line N. E. ¼ W. 80 poles to a white oak corner, thence E. S. E. 112 po. to Chas. Roanes line and by his line S. to a corner red oak near the Roade, then by the line North Easterly E. 166 po. to his corner red oak, then N. W. 22½ Po. to a corner hickory of Thomas Dawkins land then by the Dawkins line S. by E. 100 poles to his corner red oak and E. S. E. 54 poles to a corner hickory of Lambert Moore and by his line

S. W. 5½ poles to his corner white oak then W. N. W. 32 po. and W. S. 15° 16 po. to Tho. Hanks forner corner white oak near a branch thence by the said Hanks his line W. S. W. ½ S. 114 po. to a red oak by a branch or swamp and down the runn of the swamp to a white oak by the said S. side a line tree of Hucksteps land and then along Huckstep's line until it comes to the first tree.

Due by patent dated 8th day of April, 1663 part of a tract of land being surveyed away by a more ancient patent and now on the other side augmented to make the same 500 acres according to the bounds above expressed.

Book 6, p. 476.

7. April 8, 1674, Two Hundred and Sixty Acres

THOMAS HANCKES & Cornelius Chessman, 260 acres, part in Gloucester and part in New Kent. April 8, 1674.

Adjoining a former tract of the said Hanckes, beginning at 2 corner Spanish Oaks being corner trees to the said Hanckes his other land WHEREON HE NOW LIVETH and running then N. 66 p. to a red oak, N. 36 E. 48 po. to a chestnut N. N. W. 40 po. to a Spanish Oak, W. N. W. 310 po. to a marked corner ash standing in a branch and up that branch S. as the branch widens to a corner gum standing in a branch and belonging to the said devident of Thomas Hanckes, then by his line S. E. by E. ½ E. 352 po. to the first beginning tree. For the transportation of 5 persons: Tho. Jenkins, Peter White, Wm. Coachman, Mary Haines, Mary Cord.

Book 6, p. 511.

Office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth

The descriptions in these seven land patents granted to Thomas Hanks are true copies from the official records in the Land Office at Richmond, Virginia.

NELL M. NUGENT.

VIII. HANKS SOLDIERS IN THE REVOLUTION

Until after I had published the *Life of Abraham Lincoln* I had failed to learn of any Hanks soldier in the Revolutionary War. Since then Louis A. Burgess has published two volumes on Virginia Soldiers in the Revolution, and he has no record of a Hanks. The reason would appear to be that he confined his search to the Virginia records, which in many cases are more complete than those in Washington. The following data will show that in the case of this family the national records contain information which the State Archives lack, and some of it is of especial interest to us.

The list of the Revolutionary soldiers of Virginia—*Special Report of the Department of Archives and History for 1911,* by H. J. Eckenrode, Archivist, Richmond, 1912,—does not contain the name of Hanks. A supplementary volume, issued in the following year, contains these names:

Hanks (Hank) John (4th Virginia Regiment), War Department Record, 83: 1: 294: 1: (8th Virginia Regiment,) War Department 182: 1: (4th. 8th and 12th) War Dept. 312: 1.

Hanks, Abraham, Secretary of Wars report, 1835, pension 3, Tennessee, 78.

J. T. McAllister, in his *Virginia Militia in the Revolutionary War* (McAllister Publishing Co., Hot Springs, Virginia), has a list of pensions granted to soldiers of Virginia birth, residing outside Virginia in 1835, when pension was granted for service in Virginia Militiamen, which includes Abraham Hanks aged seventy-four, Lincoln County, Tennessee.

There is also an obscure reference to one Henry Hanks.

Concerning these the War Department furnishes me this information:

Abraham Hanks, private in Captain Holman Rice's Company of Foot in the Regiment of Guards commanded by Chas. Taylor, commencing 1st April and terminating the 31st of May, 1779, from Virginia.

Alexander Hanks, private, Captain Burges Ball's Company of the 5th Virginia Regiment of Foot commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Josiah

Parker. His name appears on the company muster roll for the period from August, 1776, to May 31, 1777, with remark, "Died 16 Sept, 1776." The date of his entry into service is not shown.

John Hank, also borne as John Hanks, private, Captain David Stephenson's Company of the 8th Virginia Regiment of Foot, commanded by Colonel Abraham Bowman. He enlisted March 22, 1776, for three years; was transferred in June, 1778, to Captain William Croghan's Company, 4th Virginia Regiment, commanded successively by Colonel James Wood and Colonel John Nevil. In October, 1778, he was transferred to The Colonel's Company, and in May, 1779, to Captain-Lieutenant Leonard Cooper's Company, same regiment. His name is last borne on the company payroll for the month of November, 1779.

William Hanks, private, Captain James Johnson's Company in the 6th Virginia Regiment of Continental Forces commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel James Hendricks. He enlisted September 10, 1776, and deceased 29 December, 1776.

The records do not show from what counties either of the above-named came.

The Abraham Hanks referred to in these records is doubtless the name of that man who started across the mountains in 1775, as we are told by William Calk, a member of the party. William H. Herndon summarizes this record:

They were evidently a crowd of jolly young men bent on adventure and fun, but their sport was attended with frequent disasters. Their journey began at "Mr. Priges' tavern on the Rapidan." When only a few days out "Hanks Dog's leg got broke." Later in the course of the journey, Hanks and another companion became separated from the rest of the party and were lost in the mountains for two days; in crossing a stream "Abraham's saddle turned over and his load fell in Indian creek"; finally they meet their brethren from whom they have been separated and then pursue their way without further interruption. Returning emigrants whom they meet, according to the journal of Calk, "tell such News of the indians" that certain members of the company are "afrade to go aney further." The following day more or less demoralization takes place among the members of this pioneer party when the announcement is made, as their chronicler so faithfully records it, that "Philip Drake Bakes bread without washing his hands." This was an unpardonable sin, and at it they revolted. A day later the record shows that "Abram turns Back." Beyond this we shall never know what became of Abraham Hanks, for no further mention of him is made in this or any other history. He may have returned to Virginia and become, for aught we know, one of the President's ancestors on the maternal side of the house; but if so his

illustrious descendant was never able to establish the fact or trace his lineage satisfactorily beyond the first generation which preceded him.[1]

It is gratifying now to be able for the first time to give to this pioneer, owner of the dog with the broken leg, his proper place in history. The following letter from the War Department gives us valuable information:

April 27, 1926.

Rev. William E. Barton,
Sir:

I have to advise you, that the Revolutionary War records of this Bureau fail to afford information in regard to soldiers named Hanks, under any spelling of that name, who enlisted from Virginia, other than the three, whose histories are herewith furnished.

The Bureau has no records of services rendered in the colonies before the Revolution.

From the papers in the Revolutionary War pension claim, R. 4569, it appears that Abraham Hancks, or Hanks, was born April 2, 1759, in Amelia County, Virginia, and resided in Bedford County, Virginia, when he enlisted in August, 1777, and served three months as a private in Captain John Talbot's Company, Colonel David Mason's Virginia Regiment. He enlisted April 2, 1779, and served until May 1, 1781, under Captain Holman Rice and Ensign Nicholas Meriwether in Colonel Francis Taylor's Virginia Regiment. He married in Campbell County, Virginia, April 15, 1788, Lucy Jennings who was born about 1770. They had children, but their names are not on record. He was allowed pension on his application executed October 16, 1832, while living in Lincoln County, Tenn., where he died July 10, 1833.

From the papers in the Revolutionary War pension claim, S. 31729, it appears that Abner Hanks was born in 1763, in Richmond County, Virginia and while living there he enlisted in April, 1780, and served three months as a private in Captain George Harrison's Virginia Company and immediately afterwards enlisted and served three months in Captain George Sisson's Virginia Company. He was allowed pension on his application executed March 18, 1834, while living in Johnson County, Indiana, to which state he had moved from Henry County, Kentucky. There is no data on file as to his family. For the date of his death, you should apply to the Record Section, Civil Division, General Accounting Office, Washington, D. C., citing all of the following data: Abner Hanks, Certificate 26612, issued April 7, 1834, rate $20 per annum, to commence March 4, 1831, Act of June 7, 1832, Indiana Agency.

From the papers in the Revolutionary War pension claim, R. 4571, it appears that Thomas Hanks was born in 1759, in Virginia, place not

[1] Herndon's *Lincoln,* I: pp. 8-9.

stated. He applied for pension, July 31, 1833, while living in Logan County, Ohio, and alleged that while a resident of Hampshire County, Virginia, he was drafted in the fall of 1780, for three months and served in Captain Daniel Richardson's Virginia Company and returned home in March, 1781. Also that in the winter of 1781, he served two months in Captain Isaac Person's Company, under Major Vincent Williams in the Virginia Troops. His claim was not allowed as he failed to furnish proof of six months' military service as required by the pension laws. He moved from Hampshire County, Virginia, in 1800, to Ross County, Ohio, and thence to Logan County, Ohio. The date and place of his death are not on record and there is no data on file as to family.

Respectfully,
WINFIELD SCOTT,
Commissioner.

We are especially interested in this Thomas Hanks, for he was a son of Joseph Hanks, great-grandfather of President Lincoln. He signed his name, and it is a very good, legible signature.

IX. THE HANKS FAMILY TREE OF RICHMOND COUNTY

As Worked out from the Records of the Circuit Court by E. Carter DeLano, Warsaw, Va.

Second Generation

WILLIAM HANKS m. SARAH WOODBRIDGE

b. b.

m. (About June, 1678.) m. (About June, 1678.)

See Deed Book 2, p. 123:
Deed from Wm. Woodbridge of North Farnham Parish, Richmond Co., Va., for 100 acres of land called "Indian Town Branch, in sd. Parish & County
TO WILLIAM HANKS and SARAH, his wife."

Promptly married RICHARD WHITE, who shares equally with the children of William HANKS & SARAH, his wife, when Division of Estate of said WILLIAM was made;

d. (before Feb. 7, 1704,)
See Order Book 4, p. 32:
"William Hanks is granted Administration of the Estate of his dec'd father William HANKS, this date."

See Will Book 2, p. 88:
RICHMOND COURT Nov. ye 20th, 1705.

APPRAISEMENT OF ESTATE:
See Order Book 4, p. 58:
"Upon Petition of SARAH HANKS ordered that Roland Lawson, William Smoote, Dom: Benneham and Thomas Bryant, or any 3 of them do meet att the house of WILLIAM HANKS, dec'd & do the 8th day of

"By Virtue of an order of Court granted to the Widdow: HANKS, we whose names are underwritten to Divide the Estate of WILLIAM HANKS, Desed into four parts in Obayance to which order we did accordingly meet at the House of WILLIAM HANKS, on the 20th of Nov., 1705, and have accordingly divided the Estate

this Instant if faire if not on the next faire day after and do then and there according to the best of their Judgement. Divide the Estate of sd. William Hanks according to the Inventory and Appraisement thereof by them returned and Make report of their proceedings thereon to the next Court under their Hands in Writing."
—COURT DAY, May 2, 1705.

into four shares to the best of our knowledge as followeth:

RICHARD WHITE, his share of Estate ———

William HANKS, his share of Estate ———

LUKE HANKS, his share of Estate ———

JOHN HANKS, his share of Estate ———

NOTE: Each one's share amounting to 8954 pounds of tobacco.—William Smoote Dom: Benneham Tho: Bryant.

Children of William & Sarah Hanks:
WILLIAM, b. Feb. 14, 1679.
(In North Farnham Parish, Richmond Co., Va.)

NOTE: Luke and John who share in division of estate must have been born elsewhere, as their births do not appear in the Register of North Farnham Parish.

Third Generation

(2) WILLIAM HANKS m. HESTER MILLS
b. Feb. 14, 1679 b.
m. July, 1711. m. July, 1711.
See list of Marriages From 1709 to 1716, by E. Carter Delano, in *Daughters of American Revolution Magazine,* Nov. Issue 1923. d.
Daughter of John & Hester Mills.—See Will Book 3, p. 37: In John Mills' will she is mentioned as dau., in 1709.

Made Will: April 24, 1732. See Will Book 5, p. 181:

Outline of the Will:
William Hanks—Will, Apr. 24, 1732.
"Of North Farnham Parish, Richmond Co.
My Son: William Hanks—100 acres

where I live, after his Mother's decease or marriage," etc.
My Son: John Hanks—land whereon William Eriskeon lives.
To William Downman—my land on North side of Swamp, called Briery Swamp.

My wife: Hester HANKS.

Will Proved: June 7th, 1732.
Teste:
JAMES NEAL
THOS. PEIXEE
PENELOPE ERISKEEN
d. May 1, 1732.
Order Book 4, p. 32:
Court Day, Feb. 7, 1704:
"Upon Petition of William Hanks Administration is granted to him on all & Singular the Estate of his dec'd father, WILLIAM HANKS," etc.

Children of William & Hester Hanks:

WILLIAM,	b.	May 26, 1712.
HANNAH,	b.	Feb. 14, 1717.
SARAH,	b.	Feb. 22, 1720.
RICHARD,	b.	Aug. 14, 1723.
THOMAS,	b.	July 26, 1728.
JAMES,	b.	Feb. 12, 1732.

NOTE: All of above children were born in North Farnham Parish, Richmond Co., Va. Hester was called Esther sometimes.

Fourth Generation

(1) WILLIAM HANKS m. SARAH DURHAM
b. May 26, 1712 b.
m. June 26, 1738, (In North Farnham Parish) m. June 26, 1738.
d. (Have not yet found a reference with regard to his death.) Daughter of Thomas & Mary (Smoote) Durham.

Mary Smoote was born Apr. 7,

See Deed Book 8, p. 687: Mar. 2, 1733.

"HESTER HANKS and William Hanks, Exors. of the Will of William Hanks, dec'd, of North Farnham Parish, Richmond Co., Deed to John Woodbridge—Being 70 acres bought by ad. Testator Wm. Hanks, dec'd from Edward Geffreys, Feb. 19, 1703-4."

Deed Book 11, p. 264, Nov. 27, 1753:
William Hanks and Sarah, his wife Planter of North Farnham Parish, Deed to Wm. Glascock Jr.,
"for several good causes and considerations them thereunto moving at this time Especially," Etc., do sell 95 acres land on Bryery Swamp, claimed by them.

Teste:
NATHANIEL MASON
GEORGE GLASCOCK
THOS. DURHAM

1693. She was a Daughter of William Smoote and Jane, his wife. She married Thomas Durham, & they had issue:
Margaret Durham M. Dec. 2, 1729, to Dominick Newgent.

Sarah Durham, m. June 26, 1738, to William Hanks.

Joseph Durham, who died without Will. See order Ek. 11, p. 335.

William Smoote made his will Feb. 24, 1715: See will Ek. 3, p. 270. In which will he states:
"My will is that my wife Jane Smoote have the use of my Plantation together with all my lands and Tenements for and during her natural life and after her decease to fall to my son-in-law, & to my 3 Grandchildren & their heirs forever."

Teste:
JOHN DURHAM
ABRAHAM DALE
BRYAN MUCKLEROY
Will Proved July 4, 1716.

Children of William & Sarah (Durham) Hanks:

ELIJAH,	b.	Dec. 17, 1740.
MILLION,	b.	Aug. 21, 1742.
JUDITH,	b.	Dec. 29, 1744.

(Dau.)—ARGILL, b. Feb. 2, 1746.
SUSANNA, b. Sept. 19, 1749.
HANNAH, b. Feb. 11, 1752.

The Other Families are as follows:

(Children of Luke & Elizabeth Hanks:)
Alex, b. Oct. 31, 1719.
Lucretia, b. June 1, 1722.
Turner, b. June 18, 1737.

(Children of William & Hannah Hanks:)
Susanna, b. Dec. 18, 1725.

(Children of Luke & Sarah Hanks:)
Martha, b. May 26, 1752.

(Children of Turner & Million Hanks:)
Mary, b. May 20, 1761.
Hannah, b. June 3, 1767.

George, b. June 22, 1769.
Luke, b. May 17, 1771.
Raleigh, b. Apr. 1, 1773.
Pitman, b. Dec. 3, 1775.
Chitester, b. May 31, 1781, —Son.

NOTE: The latter five children are children of Turner and Sarah Hanks. Warren.)

(Children of Joseph & Ann Hanks:)
Betty, b. Mar. 4, 1771.

(Children of John & Susanna Hanks:)
ELIJAH, b. Oct. 19, 1766.

(Children of Thomas & Betty Hanks:)
JOSEPH, b. Feb. 21, 1764.
NANCY, b. Sept. 15, 1766.

(Children of John & Mary Hanks:)
Mott, b. April 21, 1742.

(Children of George & Elizabeth Hanks:)
Winney, b. Oct. 27, 1781.

Born: Charlotte, dau. of Ann Hanks, Dec. 25, 1740.

Born: George Nash, son of Judith Hanks, April 30, 1778.

(2)
JOHN HANKS m. KATHERINE ———
b. b.
m. (About June, 1714.) m.

d. (Have not yet found a reference with regard to his death.)
Order Book 4, p. 373.
"Court Day, July 7, 1708:
This day John Hanks came into Court and made choice of William Hanks for his Guardian, who is thereupon accordingly admitted."

Order Book 11, p. 77:
Court Day, March 7, 1739:

Hanks
vs.
Erskiens

"In an Action of Covenant between John Hanks son and heir of WILLIAM HANKS, dec'd, Plt. and Wm. Erskiens Deft. Damage 501 lbs. Current Money the Deft. being called and not Appearing nor any Security returned for him on the Motion of the Plt's, attorney Judgement is granted him agt. the ad. Deft. and Wm. Jordan, Gent. Sheriff of this county, for the aforesaid sum and costs unless the deft. appears at next Court and answer the ad. action."

d. (before Feb. 1, 1779.)
See Order Book 18, p. 75.
Court Day, Feb. 1, 1779:

"On Motion of Joseph Hanks who made oath according to Law a Certificate is granted him for obtaining letters of Administration on the Estate of Katherine Hanks, dec'd."

ESTATE APPRAISED:
See O. B. 18, p. 75:
Feb. 1, 1779:

"Thomas Smith, George Davis, Samuel Dobyns & John Hannond or any 3 of them are appointed to appraise the Real & Personal Estate of Katherine Hanks dec'd."

Inventory returned and recorded Aug. 2, 1779.

(Order Book 18, p. 184:)
Court Day, Jan. 7, 1782:

"William Miskell, Daniel Dobyns & Griffin Fauntleroy, & Jno. Davis or any three of them appointed to Divide Estate of Katherine Hanks, dec'd., etc.")

Account Book 2, p. 28:
December 23, 1782;
"dr. The Estate of Catherine Hanks. In acct. with Joseph Hanks, Admr.

To Sundry Claimers who appear
to be intitled to the Balce.
Equally, Vizt.:
(1.) William Hanks
(2.) Elinor Dodson
(3.) Betty Woolard
(4.) Caty Hanks
(5.) Joseph Hanks
(6.) John Hanks
(7.) Thomas Hanks"

The above seven of the nine children of John and Catherine Hanks were living in 1782. The baptismal list follows:

Children of John & Catherine Hanks:

(1.) William,	b.	Mar. 8, 1715.	
(2.) Elenor,	b.	Mar. 18, 1717.	(Dodson)
(3.) Elizabeth,	b.	Oct. 18, 1720.	(Woodland)
(4.) Catherine	b.	Oct. 4, 1723.	(Should be 1721)
(5.) Sarah	b.	Apr. 7, 1723.	
(6.) Joseph,	b.	Dec. 20, 1725.	
(7.) John,	b.	May 4, 1728.	
(8.) Thomas,	b.	July 1, 1732.	
(9.) Alex,	b.	Dec. 2, 1734.	

(Sarah and Alexander probably deceased before 1782.)

(1.) JOSEPH HANKS	m.	ANN LEE, daughter of William Lee.
b. Dec. 20, 1725.		b.
d. Nelson County, Ky., 1793.		d. In Virginia after 1794.

Of the nine children of Joseph and Ann Hanks only one baptismal record has thus far been found.

Children of Joseph & Ann Hanks:

Betty, b. Mar. 4, 1771.

X. HANKS FAMILY DEEDS

A. DEED OF PAUL WOODBRIDGE TO WILLIAM HANKS, 1689-90

This indenture made the 7th day of February in the year of our Lord 1689-90 between Paul Woodbridge of farnham in the county of Rappk. Gent. of the one part and William Hanks of farnham aforesd. Carpenter of the other part Witnesseth that the sd. Paul Woodbridge for the Consideration of four Thousand pounds of arensco Tobb. to him in hand paid by bill by the sd William Hanks the receipt whereof he doth by these presents acknowledge Hath given granted bargained and sold and by these presents doth give and grant bargain & sell unto the sd Wm. Hanks and his heirs forever One Hundred acres of land more or less lying on the north side of a branch commonly known by the name of Indian Town Branch bounded as followth: Beginning at a marked Pock Hickory standing on the branch thence along the path which is called the School Path Extending to the corner tree of the land of Edward Jeffries thence to a White Oak standing on the branch of the Morattico Creek from thence to the line of Robert Palmer and so along the line of the sd Palmer till it come to a Certain White Oake thence along a new line through the land of the sd Paul Woodbridge to a Chestnut and from thence to the place where it first began To Have and To Hold the said Land with its boundaries and with warranty from me the sd Paul Woodbridge my heirs Exrs. and Adminsrs. to the sd Wm. Hanks and his heirs forever or from any other person or persons whatsoever In witness whereof I have Hereunto sett my hand and Seal this day and year first above written.

PAUL WOODBRIDGE (Seal)

Teste
WILLIAM WOODBRIDGE
THOMAS WILSON
EDW. JEFFREY.

This day Wm. Woodbridge his father Paul Woodbridge being deceased did acknowledge this written deed to William Hanks in the County Court

of Rappk. the 2nd of September Ano. 1691 and was Recorded the 21st of the sd Month and Year. Teste; WM. COLSTON, Cl.Curz.

Records of Old Rappahannock County. Book 9, p. 255.

B. DEED OF WILLIAM WOODBRIDGE TO WILLIAM AND SARAH HANKS, 1695

THIS INDENTURE Made the 4th. Day of May in the Year of our Lord 1695 BETWEEN William Woodbridge of the Parish of North farnham in the County of Richmond of the one part and William Hanks & Sarah his Wife of the said County of the other part WITNESSETH That the said William Woodbridge for the Consideration of five thousand pounds of Tobacco in hand paid by the said William Hanks at the Time of the ensealing and delivery of these Presents HATH given granted bargained sold aliened enfeoffed and confirmed and by these Presents doth fully clearly and absolutely give grant alien bargain sell enfeoff and confirm unto the said William Hanks and Sarah his Wife and to their Heirs and Assigns for ever All that part and parcell of Land lying on the North side of a Branch called or known by the Name of the Dum: mans branch or by some (the Indian Town branch) situate lying & being in the County of Richmond containing one hundred Acres be it more or less bounded in manner and Form following (vizt.) beginning at a white Oak standing upon the Branch Side being the Corner Tree of Thomas Wilson running upon the head of the Branch thence along a Line of marked Trees up the Valley to a marked Pick hickory standing by the line Tree of the Land of Robert Palmer, and in the North with the Line of Edward Geffery and the Land of the said William Hanks, In the South with the said branch, and in South up the Valley with the Land of the said William Woodbridge with all the Timber woods underwoods wast Grounds moors and Marshes within the said Bounds as aforesaid Together with all the Rights & priviledges thereunto belonging and appertaining To have and to hold the said Land with all the Timber woods Underwoods wast ground Moores and Marshes within the said Bounds as aforesaid, And all singular other the Premises hereby granted bargained and sold or mentioned to be herein or hereby granted bargained & sold with their and every of Their Rights Members & Appurtinances whatsoever unto the said William Hanks & Sarah his Wife and to their heirs and Assigns for ever And the sd. William Woodbridge for himself and his heirs Executors & Administratrs. doth covenant grant promise and agree to and with the said William Hanks and Sarah his Wife and their heirs and Assigns and

every of them by these presents in Manner & form following (that is to say) That he the said William Woodbridge at the time of the ensealing and delivery of these presents is and stands possessed of a good and pure perfect and absolute Estate of Inheritance in feesimple without any Condition Reversion Remainder or Limitation of any Use or Uses Estate or Estates in or to any person or persons whatsoever to alter change defeat determine or make void the same And that the said William Woodbridge at the Time of the ensealing or Delivery of these Presents hath full Power good Right and lawfull Authority to grant bargain sell and convey all and singular the before hereby granted or mentioned to be granted Premisses with their and every of their Appurtinances unto the said William Hanks and Sarah his Wife their Heirs & Assigns for ever in Manner and form aforesaid AND the said William Woodbridge doth further covenant for himself his heirs Executors and Administrators that they shall and will from Time to Time and at all Times hereafter warrant and by these presents for ever defend the s^{d}. land so sold as aforesaid to the said William Hanks & Sarah his Wife and to their Heirs and Assigns for ever of and from all Person and Persons whatsoever claiming the same and of and from my Heirs Executors & Administrat^{rs}. or any other Person or Persons claiming the same by from or under them or any or either of them by or their Means privety or Procurement And the said William Woodbridge doth further covenant for himself his heirs Executors & Administrators that the said Land so sold to the said William Hanks & Sarah his Wife is free and clean of and from all Manner and other Gifts Grants Bargains Sales Jointures Wills Titles troubles & Incumbrances whatsoever made done or suffered or caused to be made done or suffered by the said William Woodbridge or any other Person or persons whatsoever And lastly the s^{d}. W^{m}. Woodbridge doth covenant for himself his Heirs Executors and Administrators by these presents That they shall and will from Time to Time and at all Times hereafter within the Space of one Year from the Day of the Date of these Presents make do suffer or acknowledge or cause to be made done suffered or acknowledged unto the said William Hanks & Sarah his Wife and their Heirs Executors and Administrators any further or other lawfull Act and Acts thing & things devise & devises Assurances or Conveyances in the Law, and at the proper Costs and Charges of the Said William Hanks and Sarah his Wife their Heirs Executors & Administrat^{rs}. shall reasonably devise advise or require for the better Surity and suremaking and confirming of the said Land so sold as aforesaid to the said William Hanks & Sarah his Wife and to their

Heirs and Assigns for ever as aforesaid. IN WITNESS whereof the Parties have hereunto sett their Hands & Seals Yeoven the day and Year abovewritten.

WILLIAM WOODBRIDGE (Seal)

The words (Line)
between the eight & ninth
Line was before the Delivery
and then
Signed seal'd & deliver'd
in the presence of us
Wm: MISKELL
his
ROBt: x PALMER
mark
EDWARD GEFFERY

Recognitr: in Cur: Com: Richmd:
2o. die 8 bris Ano. Dom: 1695
Et recordr: 12o. die Men ejusd:
Añoq: Supradie
Test.
Wm. COLSTON CLE

Deed Book 2, p. 123.

A True Copy from the Records of the Circuit Court of Richmond County, State of Virginia. Made & Verified by

E. CARTER DELANO, Deputy Clk.
Ct. Ct. R. Co., Va.

Dec., 1927.

C. OTHER HANKS DEEDS IN RICHMOND COUNTY

Deeds of William Hanks, Sr.

Date	Name	Book	Page
Oct. 27, 1699	William Hanks from John Powell & wife	3	46
Feb. 20, 1703	" " Sr. " Edward Jefferey	3	126
Mar. 11, 1703–4	" " To Michael Conole	3	127

Deeds of William Hanks, Jr.

Date	Name			Book	Page
Nov. 4, 1706,	William Hanks		from Thomas Gofforey	4	81
May 1, 1711,	"	"	" Edward Ryan	5	322
" 2, "	"	"	" " "	5	323
July 16, 1711,	"	"	to George Smith	5	353
Oct. 6, 1714,	"	"	from Thomas Geffrey	7	17
Jan. 23, 1726,	"	"	(son of late Wm. Hanks &c) to Thomas White	8	317
Feb. 1, 1726,	"	"	" James Hinds	8	379
Mar. 2, 1733	"	"	(Exors) to John Woodbridge	8	687
Apr. 2, 1735	"	"	to Nathaniel Mason	8	153
May 16, 1728,	"	"	with Jos. Durham & Dominick Newgent Partition	9	577
Aug. 10, 1728,	"	"	(&w.) to Wm. Erskin (Lease)	10	227
Nov. 2, 1753,	"	"	& his w. Sarah to Wm. Glascock, Jr.	11	264

NOTE: This last deed and possibly one or two of the others would appear to have been deeds of William, son of John and Catherine, first cousin of William, son of William.

The following are a few early deeds encountered and noted, with no attempt at a complete list, or of any recent deeds:

1727. Deed of Robert Hanks.
1750. Thomas Williams sold land formerly belonging to Thomas Hanks.
1753. Deed of Richard Hanks (later of Amelia County).
1764. Turner Hanks and wife Milicent sold 105 acres.
1794. George Hanks of Kentucky sold land to Luke Hanks of Richmond County.

XI. DOCUMENTS RELATING TO WILLIAM HANKS, SR.

A. ESTATE OF WILLIAM HANKS, SR., DECEASED

1. Appointment of William Hanks, Jr., as Administrator February 7, 1704-5

Att a Court Held for Richmond County the 7th day of Febry: 1704

LIEUT COLL: GEORGE TAYLOR CAPTAIN JOHN TARPLEY
LIEUT COLL: SAMLL. PEACHEY MAJR. WM. ROBINSON
} Justices

Upon the Petition of William Hanks Order for administration is granted to him on all and Singular the Estate of his desed Father—William Hanks he giving Secty according to law—

2. Order for Inventory and Appraisal March 7, 1705

Upon the petition of Sarah Hanks ordered that Rowland Lawson, William Smoote, Dora Benneham and Thomas Bryant or any three of them do meet at the House of William Hanks dec'd and do the eighth day of this Instant if faire, if not on the next faire day after and do then and there according to the Inventory and Appraisement thereof by them Returned, and make Report of theire procedings therein to the next court under there hands in writing.

3. Inventory of Estate March 23, 1705

We whose names are under written in obedience to an order of Court bearing Dates the 7th of March did on the 23 of the same meet att the house of William Hanks then and there did accordingly Inventory and appraise the Estate of William Hanks as the same was presented to us.

(Vizt.)		A TOBS.
1	Feather bed and bolster, 2 pillows one old Rug cotton blankets a paire of sheets curtaines vallom and tester matt and bedstead	1800
1	Chest of Drawers	0400
1	Drill Table	0350
6	Leather Chairs	0300

1	Small table and forme	0100
2	Chests Locks and Keys	0200
1	Case of Knives and Do. of Forks	0050
1	Brass morter and pestell	0060
2	Small trunks	0060
1	Case pistolls—1 pr. holsters	0300
	Several Remletts and small parcells of Severale sorts of cloth to y value	0290
2	Small looking glasses—4 old candlesticks	0020
1	Pr. Scoch Cloth 9: 10 yds	0110
3	¾ yds. of browne lining	0041
3	¾ yds. of do.	0055
1	Carpet for a table	0060
3	Yds. of penniston	0060
1	Feather bed Flock bolster a feather pillow a flock d: One blanket 2 sheets a rugg bedsted mat	1000
1	Old flock 4: 2 old blanketts and one old rugg	1050
1	Trunk 2 skins half drest	0100
2	Parcell of Carpenters and Coopers tools	1200
1	Pr. old boots 1 pr. hooks and hinges	0075
1	Old chest	0030
1	Old Do	0060
2	Old Guns	0100
2	Pr of Stillyards and weights	0200
1	Pr. Amall do	0060
1	Pair of pottracks	0060
91	of Good Pewter	1062
11	½ lbs. of old do.	0096
4	Yds. of Cotton	0055
1	Brass Candlesstick	0015
1	Parcels of Laid Tin	0050
	Brought from the other side	8596
52	o/o of good brass	0694
20	a. of old do.	0200
	A driping pan and Grid Iron	0120
	Iron potts 2 prs of pott hooks	0275
	Flesh Forkes and Knives	0030
	Fire tongs and a pr pott hooks	0030
1	spade and 1 spestle	0080
1	Frying pan and one spitt	0070

1	Flock bed and feather bolster 1 pr of sheets 1 blanket:	
	1 Rugg curtains and valem matt and bedsted	0600
½	of one old boate	0150
1	Remlett of bed tip	0400
1	Sett of Wedges	0100
1	Screwed Gurn	0100
1	in and 4 foot of plank	1004
1	Grinding Stone	0040
13	a of old pewter	0100
1	Serving man to serve 18 months	1400
1	Woman to serve 6 years	2500
1	Horse	0800
1	Mare and colt	1800
1	Yoake of Oxen Carte & Wheeles	3150
7	Cows	1000
5	Steeres	2500
3	Yeare olds	0300
2	Ews 3 lambs and a ram	0350
	The Crop	1851
	By bills	7354
	By Acct.	0250
	The Summe Tottale is	35817

ROWLAND LAWSON
WILL: SMOOT
DOM. BENNIHAM
his
THO: x BRYANT
mark

Record alr. enter Battles Cur. con.
Richmond 10 die May ano Doxu 1705.

Test J. SHERLOCK Co. Cur.

Richmond Ss. November ye 20 1705.

NOTE: It is evident that the appraisers were inaccurate in their addition of pounds of tobacco, but it is too late to adjust the distribution, so the record stands. —W. E. B.

4. Inventory and Appraisal Accepted, May 2, 1705

Att a Court held for Richmond County the second day of May 1705.

Present

LIEUT: COLL. GEORGE TAYLOR — CAPT. JOHN TARPLEY
CAPT. ALEXANDER DOINPHAN [?] — CAPT. THOMAS BEALE } Justices

This day the inventory and appraisement of the Estate of William Hanks being presented to this court by the admrx: of the said dec'd the same is order to be recorded.

5. *Division of the Estate November 20, 1705*

Richmond Ss. November ye. 20 1705.

By virtue of an order of Court granted to the Widdo. hanks we whose names are underwritten to divide the Estate of William Hanks desed into four parts in Obaysance to which order we did accordingly meet att the house of William Hanks, on the 20th of Nov. 1705, and have accordingly Divided the same into four shares to the best of our knowledge as followeth

Richard White his share of the Est.

To 2 servants	3900	To one small trunk	0030
To a feather bed & furniture	1800	To ¼ part of a Cow Lost	0121
To 1 horse	0800	In tobbo. to make up for an Equal share	1903
To 6 Leather Chaires	0100		
To 1 Small Table & frame	0100	To all	8954

William Hanks his Share of the Est.

To Carpenter & Cooper tools	1200	To ½ boat	0150
To Cart & wheels 1 yoke Oxen	1800	To 504 foot of plank	0504
To ye. 3d. of the pewter	0419	To 2 Cowes one Steere 2 years old	1600
To one Ovall Table	0350	To one brass morter & postll	0060
To 3d. of the goods in the kitchen		To ¼ part of a Cow lost	0121
To one Carpett for a table	0060	In tobbo. to make up an equal share	2022
To one pr. hooks and Hinges	0015		
To one Grinding stone	0040	To all	8954

Luke Hanks his share of the Est.

To one Case of pistolls & holster	0300	To 2 Steers & one yeare old heifer	1100
To 2 Cows & Calves	0900	To 1. 3d. of the pewter	0419

Luke Hanks his share of the Est.

To one Flock bed and furniture	0600	To 500 foot of plank 1 pr. boots	0560
To one Chest of Drawers	0400	To one old Chest	0030
To 3d. of the goods in the kitchin	0673	To ¼ pr. of a Cow Lost	0121
To Trunk in ye little closet	0230	In tobbo. to make up one equal share	2601
To 2 looking glasses 4 Candlesticks	0020	To all	8954
To one Mare & Colt	1000		

John Hanks his share of the Est.

To 3d. of the pewter	0419	To one Flock bed & ye Furniture	0150
To 2 black cowes	0900	To 2 ewes 3 Lambs & one Ram	0350
To 2 steeres	1000	To one Sett of wedges	0100
To 1 feather bed & furniture	1000	To one old Chest	0060
To one Chest, Lock & key	0100	To Lumber in the Chest	0290
To one Leather Trunk 2 Skins half drest	0100	To ¼ of a Cow Lost	0121
To 3d. pt. of the goods in the kitchin	0673	To tobbo. to Make up an Equal Share	2930
To one Case of knives & forks	0050	To all	8954
To one Trunk	0030		
To one bed tick	0400		
To 3ds. of penniston	0060		
To 1 pt. Scotch Cloth	0110		
To 3 yds & ¾ of Ditto.	0041		
To 3ds. & ¾ of bred Linen	0055		
To one brass Candlestick	0015		

WILLIAM SMOOT
DANIEL BENNEHAN
his
THO: x BRYANT
mark

Record attr inter Rottles Cur Com. Richmond 1 mo: die Febry 1705.
Test J. SHERLOCK Cd. Cur.

Att a Court held for Richmond County the 5th day of Xber: ano 1705

PRESENT

LIEUT: COLL SAMLL PEACHEY	MR JOSHUA DAVIS	Justices
MAJR: WM. ROBINSON	MR EDWD: BARROW	
CAPT ALEXANDR: DONIPHAN	MR NICHO SMITH	
CAPT: CHARLES BARBER	MR JOSEPH DEEKE	

(Order Book 4, p. 94)

Hanks's appr. returned — This day the Inventory and appraisement of the Estate of Wm. Hanks being presented to this Court by Wm. Hanks Junr. the Same is ordered to be Recorded

A copy—Teste: E. Carter Delano, Deputy Clerk

6. *The Hogs*

White & Wife vs. Hanks admr. — Upon the Petition of Richard White and Sarah his wife Widdow and Relict of Wm. Hanks deced agt. Wm. Hanks Junr. admr of the Said deced for her part or Portion of the hoggs that belonged to the Estate of the Said deced they being not Inserted in the Inventory of the Sd. deceds Estate by the Sd. Wm. Hanks his admr: It is therefore Ordered that Sometime betweene this and the next Court, the Said Wm. Hanks do bring a Supplementary Inventory of the number of hoggs belonging to the Estate the Said deced, and Insert the Same into the Inventory thereof, and that they be divided betweene the said Wm. Hanks and other the Children of the Said deced, & that he make Report of his proceedings therein to the Said next Court—

(p. 96:)

B. ESTATE OF RICHARD WHITE

Att a Court held for Richmond County the 7th: day of July ano Dom *1708*

PRESENT

Colll: William Tayloe — Capt: Nicholas Smith
Lieut: Coll: Samll: Peachy — Capt: Edward Barrow
} Justices

Whites Will proved — The Last Will and Testament of Richard White desed was this day proved by ye oathes of John Wilcocks and John Callehan and order for probate granted thereon.

Whites Est. to be appraised — Ordered that William Smoote George Devenport John Rankin and Anthony Sydner or any three of them Sometime betweene this and the next Court do meet att the house of Richard White deced and do then and there

Inventory and appraise all and Singular the Estate of the Said deced as the Same Shall be presented to their View, and make Report of their proceedings therein to the sd. next Court under their hands in Writing Capt: William Woodbridge is Requested to administer an oath to the appraisers for their true appraisemt; of the Said deceds Estate and also to Sarah White Widdow of the Said desed and to Thomas White his Executr: for their True discovery thereof.

(Order Book No. 4, p. 371:)

C. CHART SHOWING SARAH'S TWO MARRIAGES

WILLIAM HANKS =	SARAH WOODBRIDGE =	RICHARD WHITE
b.	b.	b. ———
m. Not later than June, 1678, To Sarah Woodbridge. d. Before Feb. 7, 1704, See Order Bk. 4, p. 39, Richmond Co., Va.	m. (1st) ——— m. (2nd) Between May 2nd & Nov. 20, 1705; See Order Bk. 4, p. 58, & Will Bk. 2, p. 88: Richmond County, Va.	m. 1705. Will: Proved in Court, July 7, 1708. See Order Book 4, p. 371, Richmond Co., Va.
NOTE: Said William Hanks not mentioned in this Bk. before this date.	LIVING: July 7, 1708, as Widow of Richard White. See Order Bk. 4, p. 371, Richmond Co., Va.	Appraisers of his Estate were: WM. SMOOTE GEORGE DAVENPORT JOHN RANKIN ANTHONY SYDNOR or any three of them

Note: The name of Sarah White, widow, does not appear in Order Book 4, after p. 371.

Made for Rev. William E. Barton, Dec. 1927, by E. Carter Delano, Warsaw, Va.

XII. DOCUMENTS RELATING TO JOHN AND KATHERINE HANKS

A. JOSEPH HANKS, ADMINISTRATOR, AUGUST 2, 1779

At a Court held for Richmond County, the 2d day of Augst 1779—

An Inventory and appraisement of the Estate of Katherine Hanks, dec'd, was this day returned and ordered to be recorded.

Order Book 18, p. 107.

B. DIVISION OF THE ESTATE

To the worshipfull the justices of Richmond County, agreeable to your order to divide the Estate of Catherine Hanks in the hands of Joseph Hanks, Administrator, we the Subscribers having examined the several accounts and papers produced by the said administrator and also examined him on oath relative thereto, do find that the sum of sixteen shillings, Specie and also seventy-three pounds, six shillings, and three pence paper money remain in the hands of the said Administrator on the first day of Februaray 1779, thereto particularly mentioned.

William Miskell
Griffin Fauntleroy
John Davis

NOTE: The old style chronology is employed; we should reckon this as 1780.

C. SETTLEMENT OF THE ESTATE DECEMBER 23, 1782

Hanks Acct. Dr. The Estate of Catherine Hanks, In Acct. with
Hanks Est. ——————Joseph Hanks, Adm.

	specie		paper	
To sundry accounts paid by Admor agreeable to within Acct.	″7	″6 & 48	″9	″9
To Ballance due the Estate and carried to cr. side	″16	73	″9	″3
	1′3	″6 121	′16	″

	Specie	Paper
To sundry claimers who appear to be entitled to the Ball. Equally Vigt . . .		
William Hanks	"2 "3¼ . .	10 "9 "5¼
Elinor Dodson	"2 "3¼ . .	10 "9 "5¼
Betty Wollard	"2 "3¼ . .	10 "9 "5¼
Caty Hanks	"2 "3¼ . .	10 "9 "5¼
Joseph Hanks	"2 "3¼ . .	10 "9 "5¼
John Hanks	"2 "3¼ . .	10 "9 "5¼
Thomas Hanks	"2 "3¼ . .	10 "9 "5¼
1779	. . . . .	. . . Dr.
Feb. 7th by amount, Sales of the whole Estate agreeable to within Acct. By cash found in the intestates house mentioned in within report.	Specie	Paper
		121 "16 "
	1 "3 "6 . .	
	1 "3 "6 . .	121 "16 "
By balance from Dr. side due Estate December 23d, 1782.	"16 " . .	73 "6 "

XIII. DOCUMENTS RELATING TO JOSEPH HANKS

A. APPOINTMENT AS ROAD SURVEYOR 1773

At a Court held for Richmond County the fourth day of October 1773

PRESENT

LANDON CARTER	WILLIAM MUSKELL	Gent. Justices
JOHN TARPLEY	WILLIAM COLSTON	

Hanks Appd Surveyor — Joseph Hanks is appointed Surveyor of the highway in Room of Le Roy Peachey . . .

True copy of the entry in the Order Book 19 p. 40.
Teste: E. Carter Delano, D. C.

For record of his birth and the birth of his daughter, Elizabeth (Betsy), see the records quoted from the North Farnham Parish Register in this Appendix Number VI. For his will see the text.—W. E. B.

B. THE MORTGAGE ON THE MIKE'S RUN FARM MARCH 9, 1784

Romney, W. Va.
November 24, 1924.

Rev. William E. Barton,
Oak Park, Illinois.

Dear Sir:

The Clerk of the Circuit Court handed me your letter regarding information concerning the Hanks family. Due to sickness I have been unable to see to this sooner.

The birth, death and marriage records prior to the Civil War were all destroyed. I have looked through the Wills, Court Records and Deed Books from 1700 to 1810 and the only thing I find is a Mortgage from Joseph Hanks to Peter Putman dated the 9th day of March, 1784, on "a certain piece or parcel of land lying and being on Mike's Run, a drain of

Pattersons Creek, containing by estimation 180 acres." This mortgage is for the sum of 21 lbs. 9 shillings. If Joseph Hanks was married, his wife did not sign this Mortgage, and he made his mark.

If you would like a copy of this, I will make it for the check for $2.00 which you sent. This will include my time in searching for these records.

(Signed) LILLIAN G. HAINES,
Deputy Clerk County Court,
Romney, Hampshire County,
West Virginia.

THIS INDENTURE, made the ninth day of March, in the year of our Lord, One Thousand Seven Hundred & Eighty-four, between Joseph Hanks, of the County of Hampshire, in Virginia, of the one part, and Peter Putman, of the same place, of the other part.

WITNESSETH: That for and in consideration of the sum of TWENTY-ONE POUNDS NINE SHILLINGS current money of Virginia, to the said Joseph Hanks, in hand paid, by the said Peter Putnam, at or before the sealing & delivering of these presents, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, he, the said Joseph Hanks, hath granted, bargained and sold, aliened and confirmed and by these presents, doth grant, bargain, & sell, alien & confirm, unto the said Peter Putman a certain piece or parcel of land lying & being on Mike's Run, a *dreain* of Pattersons Creek, in the said County; being part of a survey made for Peter Hartman, from and under whom the said Joseph Hanks hath right, containing by estimation one hundred and eight acres, for the conveyance the said Joseph Hanks hath George Turry's Bond; with the appurtenances thereunto belonging. TO HAVE AND TO HOLD, the said piece or parcel of land with the appurtenances thereunto belonging to him, the said Peter Putman, his heirs & assigns forever. To the only proper use and behoof of him, the said Peter Putman, his heirs and assigns forever. PROVIDED, always and the true intent and meaning hereof is that in case the said Joseph Hanks, his heirs, executors or administrators shall well and truly pay or cause to be paid to the said Peter Putman, his heirs or assigns, the aforesaid sum of TWENTY ONE POUNDS NINE SHILLINGS, with legal interest for the same from the date hereof, on or before the twenty-fifth day of September next ensuing and that without paid or further delay, then these presents and everything herein contained, shall cease, determine and become utterly void, anything herein contained to the contrary thereof in anywise, notwithstanding.

And it is hereby covenanted and agreed between the parties that after default shall be made in the performance of the proviso above mentioned, it shall and may be lawful for the said Peter Putman, giving *publick* notice thereof, to make sale of the said piece or parcel of land, to the highest bidder and out of the *produce* of said sale to detain the aforesaid sum of TWENTY ONE POUNDS NINE SHILLINGS and interest and to pay the residue to the said Joseph Hanks, his heirs or assigns; and the said Joseph Hanks doth hereby fully empower the said Peter Hartman and all others claiming by, from or under to make such lawful conveyance of the land and appurtenances aforesaid, to the purchaser or purchasers as shall be necessary for assuring and confirming the same to him or them, his or their heirs or assigns forever.

IN WITNESS whereof the parties to these presents have hereunto set their hands & seals the day and year first above mentioned.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of

his
JOSEPH x HANKS (L. S.)
mark

SAMUEL DEW
BETTY DEW
PHILLIP BAKER
HENRY NEIFF

PETER PUTMAN

At a Court held for Hampshire County the 9th day of November, 1784, this Deed of Mortgage between Joseph Hanks, of the one part, and Peter Putman, of the other part, was preved in solemn form by Samuel Dew, Henry Neiff & Phillip Baker, witnesses thereto & ordered to be recorded.

Test: AND. WODROW, Cl. Cur.

C. THE ESTATE OF WILLIAM LEE 1717

State of Virginia:
County of Richmond.

Copy of Court Orders: Order Book No. 7, p. 225, &c.

[p. 225] At a Court held for Richmond County the fourth day of December 1717.

PRESENT

WILLIAM ROBINSON	JOHN TAYLOR &	Justices Gent.
EDWARD BARROW		
NICHOLAS SMITH	WILLIAM FAUNTLEROY	

[p. 226] Dorothy Lee made administrator of William Lee's estate.

Dorothy Lee relict of Wm. Lee decd. came into court and made oath that the said William Lee departed this life without makeing any will soe farr as she knows or beleives, and on her petition and giveing Security for her Just and faithfull administration of the Said decedents Estate, Certificate is granted her for obtaining Letters of administration in due forme—

[p. 227] Lee &c. ack. to the Court.

Dorothy Lee and Thomas Taylor in open court acknowledged themselves Indebted to the Worshipfull his Majestys Justices of the said County in the sum of one hundred pounds sterling to be paid to the said Justices their Execrs or admrs in case the said Dorothy Lee doe not duely administer on all and Singular the Estate of William Lee deced. and render a true account thereof when thereunto lawfully called—

Lee's Estate to be appraised.

Robert Tomlin, David Berrick, Stanley Gower and Charles Lee or any three of them, sometime between this and the next court, are appointed to appraise all and Singular the Estate of William Lee deced. in money, which shall be presented to their view and make report thereof to the said next court, Charles Barber Gent. or any other Justice of the peace for this County is requested to administer an oath to the appraisers for their true appraisement of the said deced. Estate, as also to Dorothy Lee the admtrx. for her true discovery thereof—

D. THE ESTATE OF RICHARD CROUCHER 1740

State of Virginia:
County of Richmond.

Copy of Richard Croucher's Will, from Will Book No. 5, p. 376:

Richard Croucher's Will — In the Name of God Amen I Richard Croucher of the pish of Northfarnham in the county of Richmond being Sick and Weak of Body but of Perfect Memory thanks be to God do Make this my Last Will and Testament in Manner following. . . .

Imprimis — I Bequeath My Soul to Almighty God that Gave it and my Body To Be buried as my Executers hereafter Named Shall See fitt. . . .

Item — I give to my Son William all my Land at Charleses Dam to him and his Heirs and for Want of Such to my Daughter Katherine and her heirs for Ever. . . .

Item — I give to my Son Wm. all my Showmakers and all other tooles belonging to Me. . . .

Item — My Will is that all the Rest of my Estate be Equally divided amongst my Wife and Children. . . .

Item — I Do Nominate and appoint My Worthy Friend Billington McCarty and my Loving Wife to be my Whole and Sole Executors of this my Last Will and Testamt. . .

his
RICHD. R CHROUCHER (Seal)
mark

Test BILLINGTON MC: CARTY
SARAH BOTON

At a court held for Richmond County the Second Day of March *1740*

This Will was Proved in open court by the oath of Billington McCarty one of the Witness thereto, and Admitted to Record. . . .

Test M: BECKWITH CC Cur.

State of Virginia:
County of Richmond.
Copy of Court Orders: Order Book No. 11, p. 152, &c.

[p. 152] At a Court held for Richmond County the second Day of March. *1740.*

PRESENT

THOS. WRIGHT BELFIELD	GILBERT HAMILTON	Gent. Justices
JOHN WOODBRIDGE	JOHN SMITH	
LANDON CARTER	and	
WM. JORDAN	WM. BROCKENBROUGH	

[p. 153:] Richard Chroucher's WILL proved

The last will and Testament of Richard Chroucher Decd. was Presented in Court by Dorothy Chroucher one of the Executors who made oath thereto and being Proved by the oath of Billington McCarty one of the Witnesses thereto was admitted to Record and on motion of the sd. Executor and her Performing what is usuall in such cases Certificate is granted her for obtaining a probate thereof in Due forme

---

[p. 153] Chroucher's Estate to be app:

Travers Tarpley Isaac Webb Henry Williams and Billington McCarty or any three of them sometime Between this and the Next Court are appointed to appraise all and Singular the Estate of Richard Chroucher Decd. which shall be Presented to their View and make Report thereof to the sd. Next Court John Woodbridge Gent. or any other Justice of the peace for this County is Requested to administer an oath to the appraisers for their True appraisement of the sd. Decedents Estate as also to Dorothy Chroucher one of the Executors for her True Discovery Thereof—

E. A CHART SHOWING THE TWO MARRIAGES OF DOROTHY TAYLOR

(1) William Lee m. Dorothy Taylor m. (2) Richard Croucher made will proved March 2, 1740, by his widow, Dorothy Croucher. Order Book XI, p. 153.

Died before Dec. 4, 1717.

William Lee, born May 14, 1704, died, 1764	Charles Lee, born Sept. 18, 1706	Richard Lee, born April 9, 1711.	John Lee, born Oct. 11, 1713.

His children:

Ann Lee, wife of Joseph Hanks	Sarah Lee, wife of Thomas Hanks	Richard Lee

F. THE WILL OF ELIZABETH TAYLOR, MAY 11, 1747

State of Virginia:
County of Richmond;
Will Bk. 5, page 531:

Copy of will of Elizabeth Taylor, 11th May, 1747:

In the Name of God Amen I Elizabeth Taylor of North Farnham Ppish and County of Richmond being of Perfect mind and Memory Thanks be to God for it I do nomenate and appoint this my last will and Testament in manner and Form Following—

Ip'rs I give my soul to God how gave it and my Body to be Buried as my Ex^{r}. hereafter named Shall think fitt—

Item It is my will and Desire that all my wareing aparrell be Equally Devided between my two Dafters Dorothy Croucher and Sary Ellate and my Dafter Dorothy to have her Coyas.

Item I give to my grate Grandafter Betty Lee Dafter of my granson W^{m} Lee my Bed Rug Blankitt and three pair of Sheets my prayer Book one Cow and Calff one yew and Lam one Pewter Bason my grate Trunk my Long Iron pot Leadel and frying pan and my letal Salt Seller and Looking Glass—

Item I give to my grate Grandafter Ann Lee Dafter of my granson W^{m} Lee one Cow and Calfe one Yew and Lam one pewter Bason and My small Box.—

Item I give to my Grate grandaughter Sary Lee Dafter of Do. one cow and Calfe one yew and Lam and my small Pewter Bason and my Little Trunk.—

Item I give to my grate granson Richd. Lee son of Do. my Great Chest.—

Item I give to my granson Wm. Lee all the Rest of my Estate that I have not yet Named and I doe Nomenate and Appoint my Granson Wm Lee my hole and sole Exr. of this my Last will and Testament In Witness I have hereunto Set my hand and fixt my seale this 11th day of May 1747.—

Signed Sealed & published
in presence of us—
WILLIAM BARBER
WILLIAM TILLERY

her
Eliza. B Taylor (Seale)
mark

At a court held for Richmond County the 7th day of Sept. 1747.

This will was proved in open Court by the oathes of Wm. Barber, and William Tillery Witnesses Thereto and admitted to Record and a Certificate for a probate Granted Wm. Lee the Exr.—

Test. M. BECKWITH Cl. Cur.—

(Will Book No. 5, p. 531)

G. THE ESTATE OF WILLIAM LEE, 1764

State of Virginia:
County of Richmond,

Account of the Estate of William Lee from Account Bk. No. 1, at page 547

1764 "Dr The Estate of William Lee Decd.

To 1 ja Gallons Rum for appr. and Sale	0- 9- 0
To a Cryer for Crying the Goods	0- 5- 0
To the Sheriff for Levys & Taxes—108 / 36	0-12- 0
To Secretarys Note — / 144	1- 4- 0
To Joseph Hanks for his Legacy bequeathed his wife by Elizabeth Taylor Decd.	2- 2- 6
To Thomas Hanks the same	9-11- 9
To Sarah Lee the same	2- 7- 0
To Richard Lee the same	0- 4- 0
To James Samford for Make'g a coffin	0-15- 0
To William Glascock for Ballance	16- 0- 2
	£33-10- 5

1764

Pr. Contra . . . . . Cr
By amot. The Estate sold 33-10- 5
E. E. T GLASCOCK admr.—
3 Aprill—1769

Recorded among the Records
of Richmond County.

Test LE ROY PEACHEY D. C. R. C."

(Account Book No. I: p. 547)

State of Virginia:
County of Richmond, To wit:

I, E. Carter Delano, Deputy Clerk of the Circuit Court for the County aforesaid, in the State of Virginia, do hereby certify that the foregoing papers relating to the Hanks and other families in Richmond County, Virginia, are correct and true copies from the Records of my said Court.

Given under my hand and the Seal of my said Court, this 15th day of June, 1928.

E. CARTER DELANO,
Deputy Clerk Circuit Court
Richmond County, Va.

H. THE FARM OF JOSEPH HANKS ON ROLLING FORK

1. John Lee's Contract with Joseph Hanks, Sr., 1787

This contract, under which Joseph Hanks held the farm on which he died in 1793, came into court in a suit of Zacharina Riney against Benedict Compton in 1811. It is Riney's ownership of the farm which enables us to identify it. The contract made by John Lee to Joseph Hanks in 1787 was endorsed by the widow, Ann Hanks, and her son, Joseph, to Joseph's older brother, William Hanks, in 1794. Unfortunately, her name as signed is obliterated, but we know that it was Ann.—W. E. B.

Know all men by these presents that I John Lee of Nelson County and State of Virginia am held and firmly bound to Joseph Hanks of the County and State aforesaid in the just and full sum of one hundred pounds good and lawful money of the State aforesaid to the which payment will and truly be made, I bind myself, my heirs and administrators firmly by these presents sealed with my seal dated this 28th day of February 1787.

The condition of this obligation is such that if the above bound John Lee do make to the above named Joseph Hanks, his heirs or assigns, a good and lawful deed in fee simple as soon as a deed can be obtained from Joseph Barnett for the tract whereon the said John Lee now lives to one hundred and fifty acres at the upper end of said tract the line begun at the river at a certain jut above said Lee's fence and to extend out so as to contain said quantity. Then this obligation to be void and of none effect, otherwise to remain in full force and virtue.

his
JOHN x LEE
mark

Sealed and delivered in the presence of
JOHN DAVIS
JOHN MCCULLAM

Indorsement

I do sign over all my right and title of this within bond to William Hanks, whereunto I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 10th day of January one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

JOSEPH X HANKS
[ANN] HANKS

2. Joseph Nevelt and John Dawson to Benedict Compton, 1806

3rd day Feb. 1806.

Know all men by these presents the condition of the above obligation is such that if the above bound Joseph Nevelt and John Dawson or either of them shall sell and hereby convey or cause to be conveyed by general warranty deed 150 acres of land more or less it being all that land that said Joseph Nevelt bought of William and Joseph Hanks lying on the north side of the Rowling Fork between Joseph Adams' line and Thomas Bowling's line and bounded with the river . . .

JOSEPH NEVELT
JOHN DAWSON

Test.
THOMAS SHANKS

Indorsement I:

I hereby convey the written bond to Zachariah Riney for value received as witness my hand and seal this 27th day of November 1811

his
BENEDICT x COMPTON
mark

Test:

JOHN RAY

Indorsement II:

I do hereby acknowledge that I have received full satisfaction for the within bond this 24th day of January 1812.

JOSEPH NEVELT

Test:

JOSEF ADAMS

Indorsement III:

I do hereby assign all my right and interest of the within bond to Zachariah Riney for value received this 12th day of November 1814.

Test.

ROBERT NEVELT

ELEANOR BOLING

her

MARGARET x RINEY

mark

CHANCERY BUNDLE, JUNE, 1819. NELSON CIRCUIT COURT.

3. The Deposition of Joseph Hanks, Jr., 1817

Joseph Hanks, Jr., had removed with his mother to Virginia about a year after the death of Joseph Hanks, Sr., and later returned to Kentucky. —W. E. B.

The deposition of Joseph Hanks taken on the bank of the Ohio River at John Dodson's Ferry in Breckenridge County on the eighth day of March, 1817, to be read as witness in a suit of chancery now pending in the Nelson County Circuit Court and undetermined where Zachariah Riney is complainant, and Jane Nevelt of the heirs of Joseph Nevelt, Mary Ann Compton and Charles Shanks for the heirs of Benedict Compton, defenders.

This deponent, a full agent duly sworn deposeth and saith—That some time in the year 1799 in conversation with Joseph Nevelt concerning the title of a certain tract of land in Nelson County lying on the Rolling Fork about two miles above the mouth of Pottinger's Creek, which land was willed to him, this deponent, by his father Joseph Hanks and then in the possession of said Nevelt, he, this deponent heard Nevelt say that

the title of Barnett was not good, but he expected probably he could obtain it but with great difficulty as Barnett had died solvent. This deponent states that the said Nevelt about two years after came to him to purchase his right of the said land and he, this deponent, sold him his good will of it for an old chunk of a horse that would of traded for about fifteen dollars; and further this deponent saith not. Taken and sworn to before me, the subscribed, a Justice of the Peace for Breckenridge County, this 8th day of March 1817.

ARNOLD ELDER, J. P. B. C.

CHANCERY BUNDLE, JUNE, 1819, NELSON CIRCUIT COURT.

XIV. DOCUMENTS RELATING TO LUCY HANKS

A. THE INDICTMENT AGAINST LUCY HANKS NOVEMBER 24, 1789

Nov. the 24th, 1789. Lewis Holmes, Joseph Davis, Beverly Mann, John Berry, David Prewitt, James Harrod, John Haggin, John Mahan, Geo Bohannon, John Robinson, Henry French and Parmeneas Briscoe were sworn a Grand Jury of Inquest for this county and having received their charge retired out of court to consult on what presentments they could make.

The Grand Jury returned into court and made the following presentments, viz:

. . . . . .

Lucy Hanks for Fornication.

The foregoing is from the First Order Book of the Mercer County Court, p. 415.

B. HER SECOND SUMMONS MARCH 3, 1790

Commonwealth Ptff
against
Lucy Hanks, Deft. Presentment

On motion of the Commonwealth an Alias Summons is rewarded herein returnable, &c.

Apparently Lucy was not arrested on warrant, and did not respond to the first or second summons.

C. THE CASE DISMISSED MAY 25, 1790

At a Court of Quarter Sessions continued May 25, 1790. Present Peter Casey, Gentleman—John Thomas Foreman, John Mc Gee Simeon Moore,

Henry Prather, James Davis, Abraham Chapline, Jared Cowan, Jeremiah Telford, James Lapsley were sworn a Grand Jury, &c.

The Commonwealth Pltff.
against
Lucy Hanks, Deft.

For reasons appearing to the Court the suit is ordered to be discontinued.

D. THE MARRIAGE BOND OF HENRY SPARROW AND LUCY HANKS APRIL 26, 1790

Lucy's case had come up twice, first on November 24, 1797, and again on March 3, 1790. Court was to convene again in May. On April 26, 1790, Henry Sparrow and his brother-in-law, John Daniel, husband of Biddy Sparrow, appeared at the court-house, and the following bond was executed:

Know all men by these presents that we Henry Sparrow and John Daniel are held and firmly bound unto Beverly Randolph, Esquire, Governor of Virginia, in the just and full sum of Fifty Pounds Current Money to which payment will and truly to be made to the said Governor and his successors we bind ourselves our heirs Exors & Admors Jointly and Severally firmly by these presents sealed with our seals and dated this 26th day of April 1790.

The condition of the above obligation is such that whereas there is a marriage shortly intended to be solemnized between the above bound Henry Sparrow and Lucey Hanks for which a License has issued now if there be no lawful cause to obstruct the said marriage then the above obligation to be void or else to remain in full force and virtue.

his
HENRY x SPARROW
mark
his
JOHN x DANIEL
mark

Teste
NAT HART

Lucy had no parent or "guardian," but her brother-in-law signed this certificate:

I hereby certify that Lucey Hanks is of full age. Given from under my hand this 26th day of April 1790.

his
JOHN x DANIEL
mark

E. THE "APPROBATION" OF LUCY APRIL 26, 1790

There is one document of even greater interest. It is Lucy's sole literary monument. It is written with a flourish, as all the Hankses wrote who could write at all:

I do sertify that I am of age and give my approbation freely for Henry Sparrow to git out Lisons this day or any day given under my hand this Aprail 26 day, 1790

Teste LUCEY HANKS
JOHN BERRY
ROBERT MICHEL

F. THE MARRIAGE BOND OF THOMAS SPARROW AND ELIZABETH HANKS OCTOBER 17, 1796

The name Sparrow like all other frontier names was often misspelled. None of the Sparrows could write or spell it; they could hardly pronounce it. It was called Sparrows, Sparrers, Spurs, Spyres and Spiers. I find the records interchangeable, Sparrow and Spiers. In the indexing of the marriages in Mercer County the marriage of Thomas Sparrow or Spiers somehow escaped the quest of the indexer, and the bond was found for this work with no clue leading to its discovery, save one that I was able to supply through a knowledge of the variations in the spelling. This is the precious document which the Misses Stephenson found for me, and it is of great value:

Know all men by these presents that we Thomas Spyers and Henry Spyres are held and firmly bound unto his Excellency James Garrard Esqr. Governor of Kentucky in the just & full sum of Fifty Pounds current money of Kentucky the payment of which well and truly made to the said Governor and his successors we bind ourselves and our heirs &c Jointly & severally fermly by these presents sealed with our seals and dated this 17th day of October 1796.

The Condition of the above obligation is such that whereas there is a

marriage shortly intended to be solemnized between the above bound Thomas Spyres and Elizabeth Hanks for which a License has issued, now if there be no Lawfull cause to obstruct the said marriage then the above obligation to be Void or Else to remain in full force and Virtue.

his
THOMAS x SPYRES
mark
his
HENRY x SPYRES
mark

Teste:
CHARLES WING

I do hereby certify that the within named Elizabeth Hanks is twenty one years of age. Given under my hand this 17th day of October 1796.

his
HENRY x SPYRES
mark

G. MARRIAGE BONDS OF THE SPARROW FAMILY

Compiled from Mercer County Records by the Misses Mary A. and Martha Stephenson.

(1) Henry Sparrow and Lucy Hanks. Bond of April 26, 1790. Signed by Henry Sparrow and John Daniel, both of whom make their mark.

Certificate of John Daniel that Lucy Hanks is of age.

(2) Thomas Spiers, otherwise Sparrow, and Elizabeth Hanks. Bond of April 17, 1796. Signed by Thomas and Henry Spiers, both of whom make their mark. Certificate on the reverse by Henry Spiers that Elizabeth Hanks is of age.

(3) Peter Sparrow and Rebecca Sparrow. Bond of August 8, 1798. Signed by Peter Sparrow and James Bolling Sparrow, both of whom make their mark.

Separate slip, approbation of James Bolling Sparrow for his daughter, Rebecca, to marry Peter Sparrow.

(4) Peter Sparrow and Milly Edwards. Bond of November 19, 1800. Signed by Peter Sparrow and James Bolling.

Separate slip by John Edward giving free consent to the marriage of his daughter Milly Edwards to Peter Sparrow, and on the reverse, certificate of John Haggin, Justice of the Peace, that James Bolling made oath that John Edwards personally signed the within document.

(5) Dennis Sparrow and Susanna Davis. Bond of February 11, 1804. Signed by Dennis Sparrow and Henry Sparrow, both of whom make their marks.

(6) James Brown and Alsee Hanks. Bond of March 15, 1799. Signed by James Brown and Hukeway Balis, Brown signing his name, Balis making his mark.

Separate slip giving George Hanks permission for his daughter, Alsee, to marry James Brown. Signed gorg. hanks.

(7) Henry Spiers to Rhoda Johnston. Marriage bond July 31, 1827. Signed by Henry Spiers and Jacob Johnston. On the reverse, certificate of Jacob Johnston that Rhoda, his sister, is more than twenty-one years of age.

(8) James Bolin and Nancy Ellcock. Bond of October 17, 1794. Signed by James Bolin and Thomas Sparrow, both of whom make their mark.

On separate slip, permission of Joanah Hunter for her daughter, Ann Ellcock, by her first husband, deceased, to marry.

(9) Dennis Sparrow to Sally Whitehouse. Bond November 4, 1815. Signed by Dennis Sparrow, who makes his mark and Williamson Brydant.

Separate slip of Williamson Bryant, certifying that Sally Whitehouse is of age.

(10) Thomas Sparrow and Sally Smith. Bond July 31, 1826. Signed by Thomas Sparrow, who makes his mark, and Claborne Franklin, who signs his name.

Separate slip, certificate of Joseph Smith, who makes his mark, that his daughter has his permission to marry Thomas Sparrow.

(11) Bond of Henry Sparrow and Alcey Smith, February 12, 1822. Signed by Henry Sparrow and James Sparrow. These are Rev. Henry Sparrow and Rev. James Sparrow, sons of the older Henry Sparrow.

Separate slip, certificate of Joseph Smith, of his willingness that his daughter, Alcey, shall marry Henry Sparrow. Witnessed by James Sparrow and Jesse R. Barnett.

(12) John Sparrow and Peggy Davis. Bond of May 28, 1824. Signed by John Sparrow and William Davis, both of whom make their marks.

Separate slip, permission of Peter Sparrow for his son, John, to marry Peggy Davis, Peter making his mark. Witnessed by George and William Davis, both of whom make their marks, and by David Hardesty, who signs.

Separate slip, certifying that William Davis makes oath before George Thompson, J. P., that Peggy is over twenty-nine years of age.

(13) Curtis Bowman and Rebecca Sparrow. Bond of July 23, 1824.

Signed by Curtis Bowman, who makes his mark, and Judas Bowman, who signs his name.

Separate slip, Peter Sparrow certifying his willingness that his daughter, Rebecca, shall marry Curtis Bowman. Witnessed by David Hardesty and Judas Bowman.

(14) Benjamin Whitehouse and Polly Sparrow. Bond of July 9, 1808. Signed by Benjamin Whitehouse and Henry Sparrow, both of whom make their marks.

Separate slip, certificate of James Whitehouse's willingness that his son, Benjamin, shall marry Polly Sparrow. Witnessed by Cornelius Whitehouse and Thomas Whitehouse, both of whom sign their names, and Henry Sparrow who makes his mark.

(15) Conrad Franklin and Mary Sparrow. Bond February 22, 1812. Signed by Conrad Franklin, who makes his mark, and Edmund Franklin, who signs his name badly.

Separate slip, permission of James Bolling Sparrow for his daughter, Mary, to marry Conrad Franklin. Witnessed by Edmund Franklin.

(16) James Sparrow and Nancy Hineman, or Hinman. Bond of August 28, 1818. Signed by James Sparrow and Henry Sparrow, both of whom make their marks. This is Reverend James Sparrow.

Separate slip, signed by Polly Hineman, granting permission to her daughter, Nancy Hineman, to marry. Witnessed by Robert Jones and Claborne Franklin.

(17) Richard Berry and Polly Ewing. Bond of October 10, 1794. Signed by Richard Berry and Archibald Bilbo. On reverse certificate of Archibald Bilbo that Polly Ewing is of age.

Polly Ewing is indexed as Cally Ewing, and this name has sometimes thought to have been intended for Sally. The marriage bond is plain, however, in making it Polly.

H. RECORDS OF THE SPARROW FAMILY IN ANDERSON COUNTY, KENTUCKY

Compiled by Hon. William H. Townsend

Marriage Bond: Thomas Sparrow, Principal; Henry Sparrow, Surety, Dated April 11th, 1836, for marriage between Thomas Sparrow and Mary Smith.

Signed: THOMAS his x mark SPARROW.
HENRY his x mark SPARROW.

Return shows parties married April 13, 1836, by Jordan Walker.

Marriage Bond: John Crutcher, Principal; Henry Sparrow, Surety, Dated Oct. 21, 1841, for marriage between John Crutcher and Sarah Sparrow. "License issued by consent of Henry Sparrow, the father of said Sarah, who was personally present."

Signed: JOHN his x mark CRUTCHER.
HENRY his x mark SPARROW.

Married Oct. 21, 1841, by Jordan Walker.

Marriage Bond: Silas Franklin, Principal; Archibald Sparrow, Surety, Dated January 14, 1859, for marriage between Silas Franklin and Delila Sparrow.

Signed: SILAS FRANKLIN
ARCHIBALD his x mark SPARROW.

Return shows marriage on sixteenth of January, 1859, "at house of H. Sparow in said County." Also that "Archie Sparrow and Henry Sparrow, Jr." were witnesses. Return signed: "H. Sparrow, Minister of Christian Church."

Marriage Bond: John F. Richardson, Principal; William G. Sparrow, Surety. Dated January 11, 1858, for marriage between John F. Richardson and Malinda Sparrow.

Signed: JOHN F. RICHARDSON
WM. G. SPARROW

Return is as follows: "I hereby certify that on the 13th day of January, 1858, John F. Richardson, 25 years old, born in Mercer County, was married to Malinda Sparrow, aged 16 years, born in Spencer County, by

HENRY SPARROW, Minister of the Christian Church."

Marriage Bond: Wm. T. Sparrow, Principal; Wm. G. Sparrow, Surety. Dated January 11, 1858, for marriage between Wm. T. Sparrow, 21

Yrs. old, born in Spencer Co., to Delila Jane Ashley, 16 yrs. old, of Anderson Co.,

Signed: WM. T. SPARROW
WM. G. SPARROW.

Marriage performed Jan. 12, 1858, by Henry Sparrow, Minister, etc.

Marriage Bond: Wm. G. Sparrow, Principal; Green B. Sparrow, Surety. Dated June 8, 1857, for marriage between Wm. Sparrow, 26 yrs. old, born in Boyle Co., and Elizabeth Ingram, 21 yrs. old, born in Mercer Co.

Signed: WM. G. SPARROW
GREEN B. SPARROW

Marriage performed by Henry Sparrow, Minister, etc., June 10, 1857.

Marriage Bond: Green B. Sparrow, Principal; Wm. Sparrow, Surety. Dated January 27th, 1857, for marriage between Green B. Sparrow and Nancy Sparrow.

Signed: GREEN B. SPARROW
WM. SPARROW

Return shows marriage on January 28, 1857. Green B. Sparrow, aged 24 yrs., born in Mercer Co.; Nancy Sparrow, aged 18 yrs., born in Spencer Co.

HENRY SPARROW, *Sen*, Minister of
Christian Church.

Marriage Return: Wm. Sparrow, 22 yrs. old, born in Mercer Co., to Mandy Jane Franklin, 14 yrs. old, born in Anderson Co. Marriage Sept. 7, 1852. By H. Sparrow.

Marriage Bond: Archy Sparrow, Principal; Dennis C Sparrow, Surety. Dated March 18, 1853, for marriage between Archy Sparrow and Sarah E. Wiatt.

his
Signed: ARCHY x SPARROW
mark
DENNIS C. SPARROW

No return.

Marriage Bond: Greenberry Sparrow, Principal; Jos. M. Ramsey, Surety. Dated January 17, 1854, for marriage between Greenberry Sparrow, 22 yrs. old, born in Boyle Co., and Deborah Jane Edrinton, 20 yrs. old, born in Spencer Co.

Signed: GREEN BERRY SPARROW
DENNIS C. SPARROW

Return: Married January 19, 1854. H. Sparrow.

Marriage Bond: John Sparrow, Principal; Wm. Sparrow, Surety. Dated August 25, 1854, for marriage between John Sparrow and Martha Ann Hufman.

Signed: JOHN SPARROW
WM. G. SPARROW.

No Return.

The will of Thomas Sparrow is recorded in the Anderson County Court Clerk's office. It was executed on the — day of January, 1855, and was filed for probate February 4, 1857. By this will he leaves his wife, Polly, with a life estate in all his property, with remainder equally to the following children: George, Susan, Ragland, William, Greenberry, Thomas, Henry, Michael, James, Ailcy, Levina, Levin Merritt, Elizabeth and Martha Ellen.

The will of Henry Sparrow (the old minister) is also of record there. It was executed January 1, 1881, and probated November, 1881. He leaves his property for life to his wife, Ailcy, with remainder to his children: Sarah, Perlina, Elizabeth, Mary, Archy, Martha, and the children of his deceased children, *Nancy* and Delila.

There are also several deeds to and from the three brothers, Henry, George and Thomas, relating to various tracts of land in Anderson and in the edge of Spencer.

The oldest Sparrow graves, including those of Henry and Lucy, are not marked; but both in the cemetery of the Sparrow Union Church, now known as New Liberty, and in the old Willow Creek Cemetery, where many Sparrows of the older generation are buried, are many inscribed stones, including those that mark the graves of Rev. Henry Sparrow, and his good wife, Ailsy. Almost the entire population resident in that section of the county is of traceable descent from Henry and Lucy Sparrow, and of blood kinship to Abraham Lincoln.

I. THE RESURRECTION OF LUCY HANKS

I am reproducing here the printed account of my first announcement of the rediscovery of Lucy Hanks. She had been eliminated from the line of Lincoln's ancestry by Mrs. Hitchcock, Miss Tarbell, Lea and Hutchinson and practically all Lincoln biographers since 1899. Having discovered to a certainty that these authors were in error, I delivered an address on February 3, 1923, before a specially invited company of scholars and historians at the Chicago Historical Society. The general public was not admitted, and it was not expected that there would be reporters present; but as the announcement of the lecture evoked interest, representatives of the press were permitted to attend. The most comprehensive report, which was widely copied, was in the Chicago *Daily News*. This was much in demand, and as I received scores if not hundreds of letters of inquiry, I reprinted this report in a leaflet, with the caption given it by the newspaper. As this is the form in which the information that Lucy was a real person first reached the public, I am glad to preserve it here. I have made no changes except to correct one or two slight inaccuracies.—W. E. B.

OLD THEORIES UPSET

DR. W. E. BARTON TELLS OF DISCOVERING LINCOLN'S LOST GRANDMOTHERS

The recent address of Dr. Barton before a specially invited company assembled by invitation of the Chicago Historical Society has attracted wide-spread interest among historians and others. Many requests have been received for the publication of the address, which, however, Dr. Barton does not plan to issue at present. The following report from the Chicago *Daily News* of February 3, 1923, is based in part on Dr. Barton's own notes, and is printed here in response to requests for some account of this essay.

Declaring that all biographers of Abraham Lincoln were incorrect as to the true identity of Lincoln's grandmother, the Rev. Dr. William E. Barton, pastor of the First Congregational Church, Oak Park, startled American historians to-day with a paper he read to a selected audience in the Chicago Historical Society's assembly hall.

"Lincoln's Lost Grandmother" was the subject of the address. In his own words, however, Dr. Barton produced not one, but two, grandmothers of the martyred president who have been obscured in the haze of the late eighteenth century in America.

Dr. Barton delivered his address before a meeting not open to the public, but made up of scholars, historians, judges and theologians, who were especially invited.

Years Spent in Inquiry

Dr. Barton classes the work upon which he bases his facts a "severe and earnest piece of historical investigation which has required years of industry."

"I am disputing eminent authorities and compelling a revision of many books," he said, "and I desire that reports of the conclusions I have reached shall not misrepresent the spirit of the paper."

Dr. Barton is the author of *The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln,* and other works.

"I have promised to bring to this meeting the lost grandmother of Abraham Lincoln," said Dr. Barton.

"I am prepared to produce not one grandmother but two. All the biographies of Abraham Lincoln are incorrect as to his paternal grandmother.

Not of the Boone Family

"She was not Mary Shipley, as Nicolay and Hay, on the authority of J. R. Nall, have told us; nor was she of the Boone family, as Gideon Welles, Lincoln's secretary of the navy, maintained. Nor was the pioneer, Abraham Lincoln, the grandfather, twice married, once to Mary Shipley, mother of his two eldest sons, and later to Bathsheba Herring, mother of Thomas.

"The marriage licenses of Virginia sometimes gave the name of the groom and omitted that of the bride. So was it with the record of Abraham Lincoln, the president's grandfather. His license to marry was issued in Rockingham County, Virginia, June 9, 1770, and the bride is not named.

"When Abraham Lincoln was selling his farm in Virginia, February 18, 1780, preparatory to removal to Kentucky his wife, Bathsheba, signed the deed and on September 8, 1781, relinquished her dower rights. She was not well at the time and could not ride twelve miles to the court-house, so a commission was sent to acknowledge her relinquishment. It had been supposed that Bathsheba was a second wife, Mary Shipley being the first. Then when it was discovered that this could not be it was supposed that Bathsheba died in 1781 and Abraham married Mary Shipley as his second wife.

Tells of Finding Records

"Last summer, in a pile of old tax-lists in the basement of the old capitol at Frankfort, the secretary of the Kentucky Historical Society discovered a list of Washington County for 1792, which shows that Bathsheba Lincoln survived her husband.

"Abraham Lincoln, grandfather of the president, was murdered by Indians, not in 1784 as the President thought, but in May, 1786, and his widow long survived him. Here, then, is the paternal grandmother of President Lincoln, Bathsheba, whom the pioneer, Abraham Lincoln, married in Rockingham County, Virginia, in 1770, the mother of all his children, his one and only wife. All the books are in error; they must henceforth be corrected. This is the first announcement of the discovery.

"But Bathsheba (whose name may or may not have been Herring) is not the grandmother we are setting out to discover; we include her for good measure. We are after the mother of Nancy Hanks. Here we confront a historical problem of the very greatest difficulty, and one which many books have darkened by words without knowledge.

Reviews Hanks Tradition

"The Hanks tradition, as given by Lamon, Herndon, and accepted by Nicolay and Hay, is thus given:

" 'Mrs. Lincoln's mother was named Lucy Hanks; her sisters were Betty, Polly and Nancy, who married Thomas Sparrow, Jesse Friend and Levi Hall. The childhood of Nancy was passed with the Sparrows and she was oftener called by their name than by her own. The whole family connection was composed of people so little given to letters that it is hard to determine the proper names and relationships of the younger members amid the tangle of traditional cousinships.' " (*Abraham Lincoln; A History,* by Nicolay and Hay, Vol. 1, p. 84.)

"This statement was undisputed until 1899, when Mrs. Caroline Hanks Hitchcock published her *Nancy Hanks,* a book followed ten years later by the *Ancestry of Lincoln,* published by Lea and Hutchinson. These produced the will of Joseph Hanks, presumed to be the father of these daughters, and there was no such Lucy mentioned in it.

Change in Family Tree

"A very elaborate family tree was then published changing all the sisters excepting Polly; she still was left as the wife of Jesse Friend. Elizabeth

was declared to be the wife of Levi Hall; Thomas Sparrow was alleged to have been married to Elizabeth Shipley and these were declared to have been the parents of one Nancy Sparrow, who married Charles Friend, brother of Jesse, and these are alleged to have been the parents of Dennis Friend, whose subsequent adoption of the name of Hanks was responsible for no end of confusion. Miss Tarbell accepted this theory and proclaimed it widely. As for Lucy, there was said to have been no such sister; and Nancy, daughter of Joseph, was declared to have been the mother of Abraham Lincoln.

"The motives of those who attempted to substitute this theory for the Hanks tradition were wholly good, though some one who furnished some part of the information can not be held guiltless of something worse than carelessness."

Dr. Barton then proceeded to an intricate and detailed analysis of the evidence as preserved in the Hanks family and declared that there must have been a fourth and older daughter, married and away from home at the time of the making of the will of Joseph Hanks, and for some reason omitted from it.

Joseph Hanks was an illiterate and a dying man, and the will was made by a lawyer, who, either by mistake or for some reason not stated, gave the names of only three daughters, and devised a heifer to each of them.

Finds Obscure Relatives

"In an obscure corner of Kentucky," Dr. Barton continued, "far back from railroads is a section known as 'The Cutoff,' which a legislature separated from one county and added to another with the benevolent purpose of making two democratic counties where formerly there was one.

"There reside literally hundreds of descendants of the President's grandmother, including some first cousins of Abraham Lincoln. They have read no books about him and they have never been interviewed, except by me and by those who are working for me. And every one of those Sparrows knows himself to be related to Abraham Lincoln, and knows how. Separated from the Hanks family and the Hanks tradition by hundreds of miles of distance and a full century of time, their family Bibles confirm the Hanks tradition at every disputed point.

"Not only so, but I have been able to secure copies of marriage bonds of all the original Sparrow family. I have found most of the marriages of the Hanks family, including the marriage of Thomas Sparrow, not to

Elizabeth Shipley, who appears never to have existed, but to Elizabeth Hanks, and they were not the parents of Dennis Hanks, whose mother was the Nancy named in the will of Joseph Hanks.

Restores Her to History

"As for Lucy, I have her marriage bond in photostat and a certificate of her legal marriage. She was married to Henry Sparrow, a Revolutionary soldier and an honest man, and she brought up her children well, including two ministers of the gospel. She is no disgrace to the family. She had somewhat superior advantages. Her father and her brothers could not write, but she, like all the Hankses who could write at all, wrote with a flourish. Thus do we restore to her rightful place on the line of the President's ancestors, Lucy Hanks, Abraham Lincoln's lost grandmother."

XV. DOCUMENTS RELATING TO NANCY HANKS LINCOLN

The documents relating to Lincoln's mother appear for the most part in connection either with those of her own mother, Lucy Hanks, or those of her husband, Thomas Lincoln. It is well to preserve here two important documents that remain, including all that Lincoln is known to have said about his mother.—W. E. B.

A. WHAT LINCOLN SAID TO THE PUBLIC ABOUT HIS MOTHER

Getting back into Kentucky, and having reached his 28th year, he (Thomas Lincoln) married Nancy Hanks, mother of the present subject, in 1806. She also was born in Virginia; and relatives of hers of the name of Hanks and of other names now reside in Coles, in Macon, and in Adams Counties, Illinois, and also in Iowa. . . . During the winter of the celebrated "deep snow" of Illinois [1830-1831], Abraham, together with his stepmother's son, John D. Johnston, and John Hanks, yet residing in Macon County, hired themselves to Denton Offutt to take a flatboat from Beardstown, Illinois, to New Orleans. . . . This is the same John Hanks who now engineers the "rail enterprise" at Decatur, and is a first cousin to Abraham's mother.—*Abraham Lincoln's Autobiographical Sketch Prepared for John Locke Scripps, in June, 1860.*

Note that if the Hitchcock story of Lincoln's relation to the Hanks family had been correct, and Lincoln's mother had been the Nancy Hanks who inherited the pied heifer under the will of Joseph Hanks, his mother would have been John Hanks's aunt and not his first cousin. Those who uphold Mrs. Hitchcock's story, including Miss Tarbell, contrast her supposed veracity with the alleged untruthfulness of William H. Herndon and Dennis Hanks. It is not these whose veracity they challenge, though they both told the truth about it, but that of Abraham Lincoln.—W. E. B.

B. WHAT LINCOLN SAID TO HERNDON ABOUT HIS MOTHER

It was about 1850, when he and I were driving in his one-horse buggy to the court in Menard County, Illinois, . . . he spoke, for the first time

in my hearing, of his mother, dwelling on her characteristics, and mentioning or enumerating what qualities he inherited from her. He said, among other things, that she was the illegitimate daughter of Lucy Hanks and a well-bred Virginia farmer or planter; and he argued that from this last source came his power of analysis, his mental activity, his ambition, and all the qualities that distinguished him from the other members and descendants of the Hanks family. . . . The revelation—painful as it was—called up the recollection of his mother, and as the buggy jolted over the road, he added ruefully, "God bless my mother; all that I am or ever hope to be I owe to her."

Mr. Lincoln himself said to me in 1851, on receiving the news of his father's death, that whatever might be said of his parents, and however unpromising the early surroundings of his mother may have been, she was highly intellectual by nature, had a strong memory, acute judgment, and was cool and heroic.—*Herndon's Lincoln,* 1st edition, volume I, pp. 3, 4, 13.

C. AN AUTOBIOGRAPHIC LETTER OF DENNIS F. HANKS

Aprail the 2d 1866

Dennis F. Hanks was born in Hardin County on the tributary Branch of the South Fork of Nolin on the old Richard Creal farm in the old peach orchard in a Log Cabin 3 miles from Hogins Mill thence we moved to Mercer County and staid there a Bout 3 years and moved Back again to the same place and there remained untill we moved to Spencer County Indiana this was I think in the year 1816 if my memory serves me Rite.

My mother and Abe's mother's mother was sisters. My mother's name was Nancy Hanks. Abe's grand mother was Lucy Hanks which was my mother's sister. The woman that raised me was Elizabeth Sparrow, the sister of Lucy and Nancy. the other sister hir name was polly Friend. So you see there was 4 sisters that was Hankses.

I have no Letter from my friends yet. I Dont no the Reason. Billy did you write to William Hall in Missouri, Frankford. I think he could tell you something that would Be Rite. He is my half brother try him.

William I have seen a Book which states that Lincoln was a quaker. I say this is a mistake. They was Baptist. All this talk about their Religious talk is a humbug. They try to make them out Puritans this is not the case.

You asked me what sort of Intress Abe tuck part in I will say this Anything that was lively. He never would sing any Religious Songs. it appeared to me that it Did not Souit him. But for a man to preach a Sermond he would lisson to with great Atention.

Did you find out from Richard Creal if he lived in the place where A. Lincoln was Born or Not I am going there in May to visit my Birth place. The 15th of May, this is my birthday, 1799 it has Ben 68 years sence.

Anything you want to No Let it Come.

Your friend

D. F. HANKS

My first School Master was by the name Warden taught school at the old Baptist Church on Nolin nere Brunks farm at the Big Spring Down in a Deepe hollow Close By the House.

The foregoing is copied from an autograph letter of Dennis F. Hanks to William H. Herndon. The original is still preserved in the Library of the University of Chicago.

D. THE HALL AFFIDAVIT

In 1891, when Chicago was preparing for the World's Fair, it was proposed to set up on the Fair-grounds a notable Lincoln exhibit. A company was formed which bought from John Johnston Hall the Thomas Lincoln cabin at Farmington, Illinois, and with it a number of articles associated with the early life of Abraham Lincoln. Before this company parted with its money, its representatives made inquiry among the relatives of Lincoln resident in Coles County, and required from John J. Hall an affidavit giving a detailed account of these articles and of his own relationship to the Lincoln family. John J. Hall was a well-known and reliable man, who at the time owned and for many years had occupied the Lincoln cabin and had used the articles which he sold and described. Among these was Thomas Lincoln's family Bible. I did not know of this affidavit, and apparently all memory of it had been lost.

This Bible eventually was acquired by the Oldroyd Collection in Washington, and there on repeated visits I saw it in a locked glass case. On November 20, 1923, being on a visit to the house where Lincoln died, and having opportunity for quiet conference with Mr. Oldroyd, I asked

him to unlock the case and permit me to examine the Bible from which Abraham Lincoln first learned the sacred narrative. Turning its pages, I found this affidavit which Mr. Oldroyd did not remember. In it John J. Hall undertook to account for his own possession of these intimate relics, which he did by defining truthfully his relationship to the Lincoln family. This affidavit, dated June 25, 1891, gave information which I summarize as follows:

Thomas Lincoln married, first, Nancy Hanks, and second, Sarah Johnston. Sarah Johnston—maiden name Bush—married, first, Daniel Johnston, and second, Thomas Lincoln.

Matilda Johnston, John Johnston Hall's mother, was the youngest daughter of Sarah Johnston; Matilda was stepsister to Abraham Lincoln. Matilda Johnston married Squire Hall. Squire Hall's mother was Nancy Hanks's aunt. When Squire Hall died, October 5, 1851, his wife, Matilda, came with her family, and made her home with her mother, Thomas Lincoln having died in the same year, January 15, 1851. John Johnston Hall was her oldest son. Both his mother, Matilda Johnston Hall, and his grandmother, Sarah Johnston Lincoln, died in that cabin, which was John Johnston Hall's home from October 1851 until March 14, 1890. He still lives on the same farm, but in a new and larger house about a half-mile northwest of the cabin.

This is definite and accurate family history, and agrees at every point with what we have established from independent sources. For our purpose the important statement is that Squire Hall's mother was the aunt of Nancy Hanks Lincoln. John Johnston Hall did not say which aunt, but we know. It was not Polly; she was married to Jesse Friend. It was not Lucy; she was married to Henry Sparrow. It was not Elizabeth; she married Thomas Sparrow, and died in 1818, leaving no children. There was but one other aunt of Nancy Hanks Lincoln, and that was Nancy Hanks Hall, daughter of Joseph Hanks. She and her husband, Levi Hall, died in 1818, with Thomas and Elizabeth and their niece, Nancy Hanks Lincoln, and the five are buried in one family group, in the little cemetery near Gentryville. The sons of Levi and Nancy Hall were William and Squire Hall. John Johnston Hall was, as he declared, the eldest son of Squire Hall.

At the time this affidavit was made, neither the Hanks family nor any one else doubted that President Lincoln told the truth when he said that his mother, Nancy Hanks, was the daughter of Lucy Hanks. It was nine years later that Mrs. Hitchcock's little book began to teach the Hankses

to prevaricate about it. The Halls were not trying to improve upon their ancestry, for they did not think of that question as involved in their statement. They were simply concerned to tell honestly, as they did tell, that John Johnston Hall's mother was stepsister to Abraham Lincoln, and that he inherited the relics in direct succession. They told the truth.

XVI. MEN NAMED LUKE HANKS

Luke was the name given to several members of the Hanks family, and it is not always a simple matter to distinguish them.

The first known Luke was son of William Hanks, Sr., carpenter, and his wife, Sarah. He was the second of three sons, William, born February 14, 1679, Luke and John. Luke married Elizabeth —— and had children: Alexander, born October 31, 1719, Lucretia, born June 1, 1722, and Turner, born June 18, 1737. By a second wife, Sarah, he had Martha, born May 26, 1752. He died in Lancaster County in 1757, and his administrator, Henry Tapscott, was appointed February 18, 1757.

While most of the Hanks records are in North Farnham Parish of Richmond County, we find Luke Hanks in Christ Parish in Lancaster County, on April 22, 1753. At a meeting of the Vestry held for Upper Christ Parish, that nearest to Richmond County, on that date, for the purpose of distributing fines, Luke Hanks received five shillings, a debt of the Parish to him.

Turner, son of the original Luke, had by his first wife and cousin, Million or Millicent Hanks, two daughters: Mary, born May 20, 1761, and Hannah, born June 3, 1767; and by his second wife, Sarah, five sons: George, born June 22, 1769, Luke, born May 17, 1771, Raleigh, born April 1, 1773, Pitman, born December 3, 1776, and Chichester, born May 31, 1781. All the sons except Luke removed to Kentucky, and they appear in the records of Franklin and Anderson Counties, George being for a time in Mercer. Luke, the son of Turner, born as above, May 17, 1771, would appear to have been the Luke who continued to reside in Richmond County, and whose estate was settled there in 1817-8. His children were Ewell and John, Turner and Sally, the two last named being minors at the time of his decease. The present Hanks residents of Richmond County are descendants of Ewell.

But there were contemporary with these at least two other men named Luke Hanks. One may have been a son of Alexander, son of the original Luke, and the other was probably a son of one of the two Amelia County

sons of William and Hester (Mills) Hanks, Richard, born August 14, 1723, and James, born February 12, 1732. It is possible that Thomas, also a son of William and Hester, had a son Luke. Thomas was born July 26, 1728.

In any event, it is important to distinguish at least two other men named Luke Hanks, who can not be identified with either of these nor with each other. They are:

Luke Hanks who joined the Broad Run Baptist Church in Fauquier County, Virginia, in 1779, his wife Nancy having joined the same church a year previous, the two departing from that church and locality in 1785, and having not been subsequently traced; and

Luke Hanks, progenitor of the Carolina Hankses, who was born in Virginia, and probably in Richmond County, October 15, 1774, removed with his brothers to South Carolina at the age of fourteen, married Elizabeth Hanie, a South Carolina girl, became the father of ten sons and one daughter, and died in Anderson County, South Carolina, April 25, 1856. There appear to have been no less than four men of the same name and later there were others.

I append two documents of men of this name, the first being the original Luke Hanks, who made his home across the line in Lancaster County, and the other a Luke whose descendants still live in Richmond County.

A. ESTATE OF LUKE HANKS, 1757

Henry Tapscott came into court and made oath that Luke Hanks departed this life without making any will as far as he knows or believes and on his motion and giving security for his just and Faithful administration of the said estate certificate is granted him for obtaining Letters of administration on said estate in due form.

Members of the Court

WILLIAM TAYLOE	WILLIAM BALL
JOS CHINN	WILLIAM DYMER
JAS BALL	MARTIN SHEARMAN
RICH'D SELDEN.	

18 Feb. 1757

(Lancaster County Order Book, Vol. 11, page 42)

The appraisement and sale of the estate of Luke Hanks, dec'd, were returned on the oath of the Admr and ordered to be recorded. April 15, 1757

Members of the Court

JOS CHINN WILLIAM TAYLOE MARTIN SHEARMAN
JAS BALL THOS CHINN

(Lancaster County Order Book, Vol. 11, p. 52.)

True Copies
Teste
L. R. COMBS Deputy Clerk Circuit Court of Lancaster Co., Va.

B. ESTATE OF LUKE HANKS, 1817

(Order Bk. 24, p. 162 Richmond Co., Va.:) At a Court held for Richmond County the 1st. day of December 1817—

Present: Henry M. Dobyns, Thomas Dobyns, William L. Lee and John C. Peck Gent. Justices—

(p. 163:) "Ewell Hanks and Others vs. Hanks & als. In Chy. This day this cause came on to be heard upon ye Bill & ansrs. and after due deliberation Ye Court doth order and Decree that the piece or parcel of Land mentd. in Ye Bill & ye Negro Slave Betty, be Sold to the highest bidder upon a credit of Nine Months, that Bonds & good secr. be taken for ye amts. thereof after deducting the costs of this Suit & the Charges of the Sale, the amts. of which to be Sold for Cash to the amount of ye Several proportions of the Claimants to wit. one third of the price to the use of Levina—Bond to be taken to the Comrs. hereafter mentd. for and during her life, one fourth of the Balance to Ewell Hanks one to John Hanks & the remaining half to sd. Comrs. to the Benefit of Turner and Sally Hanks and after the death of the said Levina her proportion of the principal to be in the same manner divided between the above named Ewell, John, Turner, & Sally Hanks, or their heirs, Distributees or legatees, that Miskell Saunders William Palmer, Charles Palmer & Joseph Dale or any three of them are aptd. Comrs. to carry this Decree into effect and that they make report &c, & twelve Months is given the Infants in this Suit after they shall arrive at full age, to shew cause, vs. this Decree if any they can—"

(Order Bk. 24, p. 191:)

At a Court of quarterly Sessions Continued and held for Richmond County, the 3rd: day of March, 1818—

Present: Vincent Bramham, Moore T. Brockenbrough, John W. Belfield and Thomas Dobyns, Gent. Justices

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Ewell Hanks & als. vs. Levina Hanks &c In cha. Ordered that the Decree heretofore entered in ys. cause, be amended, in this yt. the Commissioners make sale of the Lands of which Luke Hanks decd: died seized and possessed, subject to the widows Dower therein.

A True Copy.

Teste: E. Carter Delano, Deputy Clerk,
Circuit Ct: R. Co., Va.

XVII. THE TRUNK OF THE FAMILY TREE OF THE SOUTH CAROLINA HANKSES

Luke Hanks was born in Richmond County, Virginia, October 15, 1774, married Elizabeth Hanie and died April 25, 1856, in Anderson County, South Carolina. They were parents of eleven children, ten sons and one daughter. They were members of Ebenezer Methodist Church. Their tombstones read:

Sacred to the memory of Luke Hanks, Sr. who was born October 15th, 1774; died April 25th, 1856, in the 82nd year of his age. God blessed him with an honest heart, and through life he bore a character irreproachable and unstained. We hope the crown of the righteous is his.

Sacred to the memory of Elizabeth Hanks who departed this life July 25th, 1856, in the 74th year of her age.

Sweet is the sleep our mother takes
Till in Christ Jesus she awakes.
Then will her happy soul rejoice
To hear her blessed Saviour's voice.

His son, Luke Hanks, was born in Anderson District, South Carolina, and lost his life in the Civil War. His tombstone tells the story:

Sacred to the memory of Luke Hanks who was born in Anderson District, S. C., Nov. 15th, 1828, and was killed at Morris Island, July 14th, 1863, aged 34 years, 7 months and 29 days. He volunteered in Capt. Cowan's Co.E 20th Regt.S.C.V. on the 27th day of December 1861, and was promoted sergeant for some months previous to his death. He was a gallant soldier and was shot within fifteen feet of the enemy's rifle pits. His body was carried home by John M. Hanks.

Sleep, gallant soldier, the combat's o'er;
The long roll will be heard no more;
Your heroic deeds in Memory's shrine
Fresh and green shall live through time.

William Nimrod Hanks, eldest son of Luke Hanks, Jr., was born August 25, 1851, and is still living. He is the father of my correspondent, H. F. Hanks, of Belton, South Carolina. His records include many other Hankses, all descendants of Luke.

It ought to be easy to place Luke Hanks, Sr. The tradition among the South Carolina Hankses is that he came there from Virginia in 1778 being fourteen years of age, and having four immigrant brothers, one of them named George, who moved on to Kentucky about 1788. This description applies exactly to the sons of Turner Hanks, assuming that they made their pilgrimage to Kentucky by way of South Carolina. But the immigrant Luke was several years older than this Carolina Luke concerning whom therefore there exists this measure of discrepancy.

XVIII. CENSUS RECORDS

The Bureau of the United States Census, besides furnishing me the material which I have given in the Who's Who of Colonial Hankses, has furnished me from time to time material of inestimable value with reference to the Lincoln, Hanks, Sparrow and Hall families. I have not imposed upon the generosity of the Bureau with requests for more than I needed, and therefore these records exhibit what I am here quoting and no more. It is too valuable not to be preserved in this Appendix. In a few places I have indicated in parenthesis the initials of persons whom I assume the figures represent. These interpolations, of course, are my own. The rest of the material is that furnished me.—W. E. B.

Census of 1810

Mercer County, Kentucky

Henry Sparrow:

Free White Males under 10	3	
Of 16 and under 26	2	
Of 26 and under 45	1	(H. S.)
Free White Females under 10	1	
Of 10 and under 16	2	
Of 16 and under 26	1	
Of 26 and under 45	1	(L. H. S.)

Total, eleven persons, all white.

Hardin County, Kentucky

Thomas Sparrow

One Free White Male and One Free White Female, both above 26 and under 45 (T. S. and E. H. S.)

William Hanks

Free White Males under 10	1
Of 10 and under 16	1
Of 26 and under 45	1
Free white females under 10	3
Of 26 and under 45	1

Total 7, all white.

Note this was the younger William.—W. E. B.

Grayson County, Kentucky

William Hanks

Free White Males under 10	2	
Of 10 and under 16	3	
Of 45 and upwards	1	(W. H.)
Free White Females under 10	2	
Of 10 and under 16	1	
Of 26 and under 45	1	(E. H. H.)

This is the older William Hanks, son of Joseph, who sold the Nelson County farm, and moved to the Falls of Rough Creek, in Grayson County. His wife was Elizabeth Hall, sister of Levi Hall. Both died in Illinois.—W. E. B.

John Hanks

Free White Males under 10	1	
Of 26 and under 45	1	(J. H.)
Free White Females under 10	3	
Of 10 and under 16	2	
Of 16 and under 26	2	
Of 26 and under 45	1	(S. M. W. H.)

This is the John Hanks, son of William who later split rails with Abraham Lincoln. His wife was Susan Malindy Wilson. John Hanks, whom Abraham Lincoln truthfully declared was a first cousin of his mother, Nancy Hanks (and not his aunt as she would have been had the Hitchcock story been true), was born near the Falls of Rough Creek, February 9, 1802; removed to Decatur, Illinois, in 1826 and died in Macon County, Illinois, March 11, 1865.—W. E. B.

Green County, Kentucky

Levi Hall

Free White Males under 10	2	
Of 26 and under 45	1	(L. H.)
Free White Females under 10	2	
Of 26 and under 45	1	(N. H. H.)

Christian County, Kentucky

Joseph Hanks

Free White Males under 10	2	
Of 26 and below 45	1	(J. H., Jr.)
Free White Females under 10	3	
Of 26 and under 45	1	(P. Y. H.)

This is the Joseph Hanks who returned to Virginia with his mother, and then came back to Kentucky. He married, at Elizabethtown, Kentucky,

November 10, 1810, Polly, daughter of John and Susannah Young. He died near Quincy, Illinois, April 4, 1856, and his widow died January 24, 1872. They had twelve children.—W. E. B.

Richmond County, Virginia

Luke Hanks

Free White Males under 16	1
Of 16 and under 26	1
Of 26 and under 45	1
Free White Females	
Of 16 and under 26	1
Of 26 and under 45	1
Slaves	1

The previous citations from the Census of 1810 are designed to show the location and domestic condition of the children of Joseph Hanks, Sr., who are of interest to the Lincoln story. I add this of Luke Hanks because he was in 1810 the only head of a Hanks family in Richmond County, and the one from whom have sprung the Hankses still resident there.—W. E. B.

Hardin County, Kentucky

Thomas Lincoln

Free White Males under 10		(A. L.)
Of 26 and under 45		(T. L.)
Free White Females under 10	1	(Sarah)
Of 26 and under 45	1	(Nancy)

CENSUS OF 1820

Spencer County, Indiana

Thomas Lincoln

Free White Males Under 10	1	(J. D. Johnston)
Of 10 and under 16	1	(A. L.)
Of 16 and under 26	1	(Dennis Hanks)
Of 26 and under 45	1	(T. L.)
Free White Females Under 10	1	(Matilda Johnston)
Of 10 and under 16	2	(Sarah L. and Eliz. J.)
Of 26 and under 45	1	(Sarah. Bush L.)
Persons engaged in Agriculture	3	(T.L., A. L., and D.H.)

CENSUS OF 1850

Sangamon County, Illinois

The Name of Every Person whose Place of Abode on the 1st day of June, 1850, was in this family:

Abram Lincoln, Male—Atty at Law—	Age	40—	Birthplace Kentucky
Mary Lincoln Female	Age	28	Birthplace Kentucky
Robert Lincoln Male	Age	7	Birthplace Illinois
Catherine Gordon Female	Age	18	Birthplace Ireland

XIX. THE LINEAGE OF MARY TODD LINCOLN

This sketch was prepared twenty years ago as a magazine article by Mrs. Ben Hardon Helm, born Emily Todd, youngest sister of Mary Todd Lincoln. She has revised it for use in this book, for which courtesy she and her daughter, Miss Katharine Helm, have my thanks.—W. E. B.

MARY TODD LINCOLN

REMINISCENCES AND LETTERS OF THE WIFE OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN

Comparatively little is known concerning the family history of Mary Todd Lincoln, although the press of the country has recorded much that has not been agreeable for her friends and relatives to read, often giving totally erroneous ideas of her; and thus the public has insensibly been prejudiced against her. Her ancestry can be traced to a long line of men distinguished in the early history of Pennsylvania and other states. She was related to the families of Parker, Bodley, Owens, McFarland, Findlay, Major and Porter, of Pennsylvania. Her great grandfather, General Andrew Porter, was the close friend of Washington. The Porters furnished Pennsylvania with a governor, and two of them filled cabinet positions.

What is known of the Todd family is honorable. Of the covenanters captured at Bothwell Bridge, two hundred and fifty were sentenced to be transported to America. Two hundred of these were drowned in a shipwreck off the Orkneys; fifty escaped and afterward took part in the defense of Londonderry. Among those drowned were Robert Todd of Fenwick and James Todd of Dunbar. In 1679, the same year in which these two were drowned, John Todd, their brother, fled from the persecutions of Claverhouse in Scotland, and sought refuge in Downs County, Ireland. In 1720 his son Robert Todd (born in 1697) came with his family from Ireland to Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, where he died in 1775. His first wife died before he left Ireland, but he married Isabella Bodley in America. The mother of Robert Todd was Isabella Parker. Many families of note in Pennsylvania were related to her.

John Todd, son of the above Robert Todd, graduated from Princeton in 1749, located in Louisa County, Virginia, and became so distinguished as a Presbyterian minister, scholar and educator, that it has been said that no history of the Presbyterian Church in Virginia could be written without honorable mention of him. The brother of this John Todd, David Todd (the great grandfather of Mrs. Lincoln), was born April 8, 1723. He was a farmer, and in 1760 bought lands of the proprietors of Pennsylvania on the south side of the Phoenixville and Peckowen Bridge road, near a corner where his brother, Robert Todd, kept a store. In 1783 he sold his farm, receiving twelve thousand dollars for it, and the next year removed to Kentucky to join his sons Robert and Levi Todd. An older son, Colonel John, had been killed in a fight with the Indians at the Blue Licks, Kentucky, two years before; and it is said that it was because the mother grieved so at his loss and was so anxious to be with the sons who were left, that the removal from Pennsylvania was made. David Todd died in 1785, the year after he went to Kentucky.

His wife was Hannah Owen, of Pennsylvania, daughter of Owen Owen. They had four sons, of whom one, Owen, settled in Ohio; and he, as well as the others, bore a brave part in the early Indian wars. The other three, John, Robert and Levi Todd, were educated in Virginia, in a classical school taught by their uncle, the Rev. John Todd. The eldest, Colonel John Todd, studied law, and was the first civil governor and lieutenant-commander of what is now the great State of Illinois. His record or minute book is in the possession of the Chicago Historical Society, and forms an interesting chapter in the history of our country. England was forced to cede this rich country to the United States, as a fruit of the Revolutionary War, won by the valor of General George Rogers Clarke in 1778, and his valiant soldiers, who numbered among them the three Todd brothers. Upon Patrick Henry, the first governor of Virginia, devolved the duty of appointing a lieutenant-commander of Illinois, and the man chosen for this responsible position (on the twelfth of December, 1778) was Colonel John Todd. He had removed from Virginia to the County of Kentucky in 1775, and had become prominent in its house of delegates or representatives. In 1777 he was chosen to represent Kentucky in the General Assembly of Virginia, and in 1778 he and his brothers formed a part of the expedition to Illinois County.

For three years Colonel John Todd held his position as lieutenant-commander, devoting most of the time to its interest. In 1780 he was again chosen a delegate to the Virginia legislature. In this year Kentucky

(county) was divided into three counties—Lincoln, Jefferson and Fayette; and Thomas Jefferson, then Governor of Virginia, appointed Colonel John Todd, Colonel of Fayette County; Daniel Boone, Lieutenant-Colonel; and Thomas Marshall, Surveyor. During the summer of 1782, an Indian invasion aroused the country, and the militia was summoned to repel it. Colonel Todd, as senior colonel, took command of the little army sent in pursuit of the retreating savages. This force included Daniel Boone and many illustrious Kentuckians. On the eighteenth of August, 1782, they came up with the Indians at the Blue Licks, and one of the most disastrous battles to the whites ever fought on Kentucky soil followed. Colonel John Todd fell at the head of his men, shot through the body. Nearly one-half of the little army was killed or wounded. Among the wounded were his brothers, General Levi and General Robert Todd. General Robert Todd was wounded also in the defense of McClellan's Fort (now Georgetown, Kentucky), in 1776. He continued an active soldier all through the troubles with the Indians.

General Levi Todd, the third brother, was the grandfather of Mrs. Lincoln. He was born in Pennsylvania in 1756, studied law and surveying, and was one of the defenders of Harrod's Fort in Kentucky, and also assisted General Ben Logan to hold St. Asaph's at Stanford, Kentucky. He was lieutenant in George Rogers Clarke's campaign for the conquest of Illinois; was appointed Major, Colonel, Brigadier and Major-General of the Kentucky forces. He died in 1807 at Lexington, Kentucky. His wife was Jean Briggs, a daughter of Captain Samuel Briggs, who was a brother-in-law of General Ben Logan and one of his fifty picked men.

A son of General Levi Todd, Robert Smith Todd, was the father of Mary Todd Lincoln. He was a merchant of considerable wealth, and was for many years president of a bank at Lexington, Kentucky. He served in both branches of the Kentucky legislature, and was a man of generous and refined nature, belonging to the old Virginia school and known throughout the state for his hospitality. He served as captain in the War of 1812. His first wife was a daughter of Major Robert Parker, of Lexington, Kentucky. His second wife was a daughter of Dr. Alexander Humphreys, of Staunton, Virginia. Mary Todd Lincoln was but a child when this second marriage was made. Four of the brothers of Mrs. Lincoln entered the service of the Confederate States. One, Samuel Todd, was killed at the battle of Corinth; another, Alexander Todd, aged twenty-three years, was killed at the battle of Baton Rouge; and a third, David Todd, received a bullet wound that, after a long illness, caused his death

in 1866. The fourth brother, George, was a surgeon, and lived at Barnwell, South Carolina. Only one of Mrs. Lincoln's sisters is living: Mrs. Ben Hardin Helm (widow of General Ben Hardin Helm, who was killed at Chickamauga, September 20, 1863), of Elizabethtown, Kentucky.

An interesting account of Mrs. Lincoln in her girlhood is given in the following passage from a letter written to me by Mrs. Elizabeth L. Norris, of Garden City, Kansas, September 28, 1895:

My first recollection of your sister, Mary, runs back to the time when your father lived on Short Street (Lexington, Ky.), before your sister Elizabeth married Ninian W. Edwards,[1] of Springfield, Ill. Mary Todd was then ten years old. I was in age between her and Frances (now Mrs. Dr. Wallace, of Springfield, Ill.), and while Frances and I were in harmony, I entered more into Mary's life. Mary was bright and talkative and warm-hearted. She was far advanced over girls of her age in education. She was a pupil of the celebrated Mr. Ward. He was a splendid educator; his requirements and rules were very strict, and woe to her who did not conform to the letter. Mary accepted the condition of things, and never came under his censure. We occupied the same room, and I can see her now as she sat on one side of a table, poring over her books, and I on the other, with a candle between. She was very studious, with a retentive memory and a mind that enabled her to grasp and thoroughly understand the lessons she was required to learn. Mr. Ward required his pupils to recite some of their lessons before breakfast. On a pleasant summer morning nature would hardly rebel; but what an ordeal to rise in winter by candle light and make the needful preparations to encounter the furious blasts! I have nothing but the most pleasant memories of her at that time. I never saw any display of temper or heard her reprimanded during the months I was an inmate of your father's home. Sixty-six years ago children had few privileges. We had no amusements, no parties, nor books with charming little stories to stimulate us to acts of courtesy and kindness. Our standard library was the Bible and the Shorter Catechism, which we always carried to Sunday-school.

From Mr. Ward's school Mary went to a select French school kept by Madame Mentelle. Here she remained for four years, going to the school

[1] Ninian W. Edwards was the son of Governor Ninian Edwards, of Illinois. He was born April 15, 1809, near Frankfort, Kentucky. His father was at that time Chief Justice of Kentucky, but removed to Illinois the same year the son was born. Ninian Edwards was educated at Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky, where he met Elizabeth Todd, the eldest sister of Mrs. Lincoln, and she became his wife. His home was one of great hospitality. He served his state in a number of positions of honor. Mrs. Edwards was an exceedingly attractive woman. Her winning sweetness and gentleness of character have never been excelled, and have left an impression which is not likely to be forgotten.

each Monday morning and not returning to her father's house until Friday evening. Nothing but French was spoken in this school, and Mary acquired a thorough knowledge of the language. She never gave it up, and always read the best French authors in the original. It was here also that she learned to dance.

While in Lexington as a young lady, Mary Todd never seemed interested in or manifested any desire for attention, although she mingled freely with the best society. Her special friends were Miss Margaret Wickliffe, afterward Mrs. General William Preston, and Miss Bodley, afterward Mrs. E. B. Owsley, of Louisville, Kentucky. In a home pervaded by every refinement, her life flowed on quietly, free from sorrow or bereavement. She had a plump round figure, and was rather short in stature. Her features were not regularly beautiful, but she was certainly very pretty, with her lovely complexion, soft brown hair, and clear blue eyes, and intelligent bright face that, having once seen, you would not easily forget. She was singularly sensitive. She was also impulsive, and made no attempt to conceal her feelings; indeed it would have been an impossibility had she desired to do so, for her face was an index to every passing emotion. Without desiring to wound, she occasionally indulged in sarcastic witty remarks, that cut like a damascus blade; but there was no malice behind them. She was full of humor, but never unrefined. Perfectly frank and extremely spirited, her candor of speech and independence of thought often gave offense where none was meant, for a more affectionate heart never beat.

In 1837 Mary paid a visit to her sister, Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards, at Springfield, Illinois. She remained there three months before returning to her father's home at Lexington. She was then just nineteen years of age. In 1839 she again visited Springfield. Her wit and affability, not less than her varied accomplishments, impressed both old and young. In 1842 she was married to Abraham Lincoln.

There has been so much written and printed upon the subject of Mrs. Lincoln's marriage, that I will only say that Mrs. Lincoln's family had no knowledge of any want of faith or honor on Mr. Lincoln's part. Mrs. Dr. Wallace, Mrs. Lincoln's sister, positively asserts that there was never but one wedding arranged between Mary Todd and Mr. Lincoln, and that was the one that occurred. Mr. Herndon says that it was a large wedding, and that Mrs. Lincoln was married in a white silk dress. This is an error, and he must have confused Mrs. Lincoln's wedding with that of her sister, Mrs. Wallace, who was married a little before. Mrs. Lincoln, by

preference, had a quiet marriage. Mrs. Wallace says that on a Sunday morning Mr. Lincoln and Mary Todd called Mrs. Edwards to where they were sitting, and told her they had decided to be married that evening. Mrs. Wallace was sent for, and she says that she never worked harder in her life than on that day. Only a few people were present—Mr. Dresser, the minister, held a short service in his church, and afterward went up to Mr. Edwards's house, where the marriage took place. There were present Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Edwards, Major and Mrs. John Todd Stuart, Dr. John Todd and family, Dr. and Mrs. Wallace, and Mr. and Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards. And the bride was clad in a simple white muslin dress.

As to the love affairs that Mr. Lincoln may have had or the offers he made of himself to others, Mrs. Wallace says that she does not know in regard to them. He may have had a misunderstanding with Mary Todd, but as the latter went to Springfield in 1839 and was married in 1842, there certainly could not have been so many love-affairs as Mr. Lincoln's biographers enjoy giving him. Abraham Lincoln was a visitor at the house of Mr. Edwards before Mary Todd arrived at Springfield, and his well-known intimacy with her cousin, the accomplished John Todd Stuart,[1] and Mr. Joshua Speed at that time, speaks volumes in his favor as a promising man. Unless Mary Todd and Mr. Lincoln mutually desired it, there would have been no reason for the marria,

It has also been said that Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln were not happy. Mrs. Wallace denies this emphatically, and the present writer's knowledge bears out Mrs. Wallace's assertion. They understood each other thoroughly, and Mr. Lincoln looked beyond the impulsive words and manner, and knew that his wife was devoted to him and to his interests. They lived in a quiet unostentatious manner. She was very fond of reading, and interested herself greatly in her husband's political views and aspirations. She was fond of home, and made nearly all her own and her children's clothes. She was a cheerful woman, a delightful conversationalist, and well-informed on all the subjects of the day. The present writer saw Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln together some part of every day for six months at one

[1] John Todd Stuart, one of the leading lawyers of Illinois, was a native of Kentucky. He graduated at Center College, Danville, studied law, and in 1828 located at Springfield. He was afterward a law partner of Abraham Lincoln and was major of a battalion in the Black Hawk War, where Abraham Lincoln commanded a company in the same battalion. He served in the Illinois legislature from 1832 to 1838, when he defeated Stephen A. Douglas for Congress. He served in Congress two terms, and then declined a reelection; but he was reelected in 1862 and served one term. He died November 30, 1885, aged seventy-eight years.

time, but saw nothing of the unhappiness which is so often referred to. Many of Mr. Lincoln's ways, such as going to answer his own doorbell, annoyed her, and upon one occasion a member of her family said, "Mary, if I had a husband with a mind such as yours has, I wouldn't care what he did." This pleased her very much, and she replied, "It is very foolish—it is a small thing to complain of."

Mrs. Lincoln was devoted to her children, and their loss was a distracting grief to her. Willie's death at Washington was a sorrow too deep for the President or Mrs. Lincoln to refer to. Mrs. Lincoln regularly attended the Presbyterian Church, and it was her request to be buried from the church where she had professed her faith. Her wedding-ring had engraved within it, "Love is eternal." The last words President Lincoln ever said to his wife were, "There is no city I desire so much to see as Jerusalem." With these words half-spoken, the fatal bullet entered his brain and struck him down by her side.

What wonder that such a shock was followed by great nervous prostration! Mrs. Lincoln went abroad to divert her mind. Mr. Paul Shipman, of Edgewater Park, New Jersey, who saw much of her during her sojourn in London and on the Continent, says: "Her residence was in sight of Bedford Square, and her life subservient to the welfare of Tad (her son), who was pursuing his studies under a tutor. She shunned, rather than courted attention, and desired peace and retirement above all things. I found her sympathetic, cordial, sensible, with that bonhomie so fascinating, with no trace of eccentricity in conduct or manner. She was simply a bright, wholesome, attractive woman, and I could not for the life of me recognize the Mrs. Lincoln of the newspapers in the Mrs. Lincoln I saw." A letter written by Mrs. Lincoln to Mrs. Shipman says: "I hope we will meet whilst we are abroad—you with your life so filled with love and happiness, whilst I, alas, am a weary exile. Without my beloved husband's presence the world is filled with gloom and dreariness for me."

In 1871 Mrs. Lincoln's son Tad died in Chicago, at the age of eighteen. "Ah, my dear friend," she said to one who knew her well, "you will rejoice when you know that I have gone to my husband and children." She was done with life. After years of failing health, in quiet seclusion from the world, shrinking from any publicity, and sensitive to every misrepresentation, sustaining the dignity of widowhood by perfectly appropriate behavior, she awaited the release from her sufferings. She died at the home of her sister, Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards, July 16, 1882. Three days later she was laid to rest by the side of her illustrious husband. The

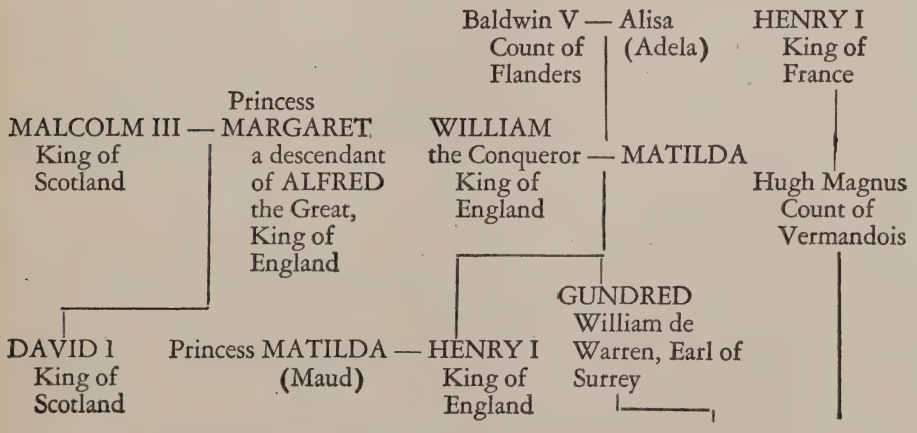
Rev. John A. Reid of Springfield expressed the feeling of many when he said, "The taller and the stronger one died, and the weaker is now dead. Growing and struggling together, one could not live without the other. Years ago Abraham Lincoln placed upon the finger of Mary Todd a ring bearing the inscription 'Love is eternal.' Side by side they walked until the demon of tragedy separated them. When the nation was shocked at the sad and dire event, how much more must she have been shocked who had years before become a part of his life. It can not be any disrespect to her memory to say, that the bullet that sped its way and took her husband from earth took her too."

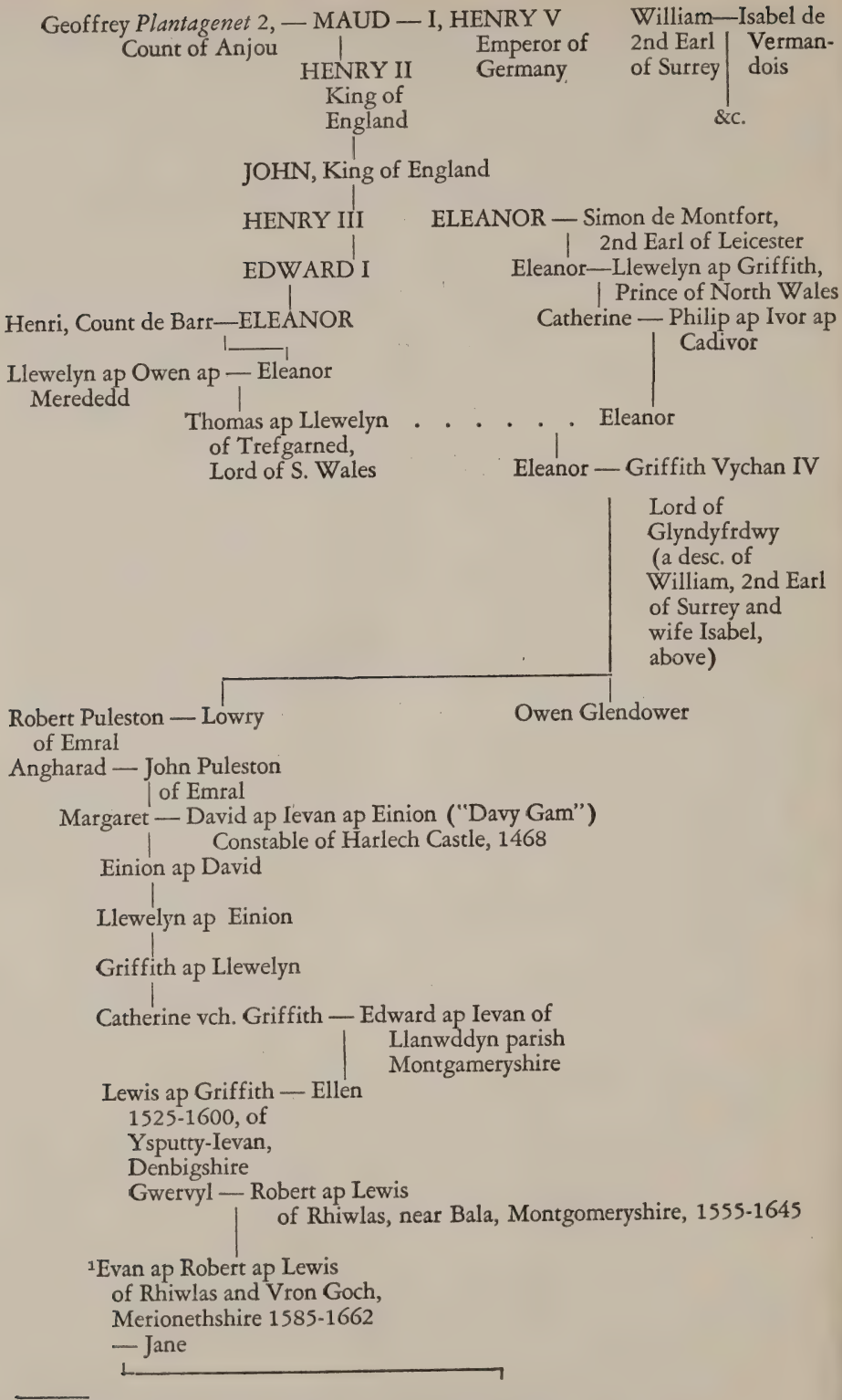
XX. THE ALLEGED ROYAL DESCENT OF LINCOLN

As this book approaches the press, the Associated Press reports to the daily newspapers announce the early publication of a work entitled *Your Family Tree,* by Doctor David Starr Jordan, an eminent authority in matters of heredity, though not a professional genealogist. Doctor Jordan in articles in magazines and reviews has told most interestingly, and I judge reliably, that through Isabel de Vermandois, "the ancestor of nearly all of us of English descent," a very large proportion of the American people are descendants of the Emperor Charlemagne, and most of us his inbred children. The newspaper announcement states that Doctor Jordan's book is to contain particular studies in genealogy by Sarah Louise Kimball, one of which shows Abraham Lincoln to be a descendant of Charlemagne.

I have no knowledge and have made no research in this field, but I presume that Doctor Jordan is correct in his basic assumption, and that, if so, it might easily be possible to show that the male line of the Lincolns, and quite possibly the direct line of Hankses is thus descended.

In correspondence Doctor Jordan courteously states that he pretends to no knowledge of the descent of Lincoln, having accepted the work of Miss Kimball, and that it will appear as hers. Miss Kimball also writes me courteously, and furnishes me the following line of descent:




Geoffrey *Plantagenet* 2, Count of Anjou — MAUD — I, HENRY V Emperor of Germany
HENRY II King of England
William—Isabel de 2nd Earl of Surrey | Vermandois
&c.
JOHN, King of England
HENRY III
EDWARD I
ELEANOR — Simon de Montfort, 2nd Earl of Leicester
Eleanor—Llewelyn ap Griffith, Prince of North Wales
Henri, Count de Barr—ELEANOR
Catherine — Philip ap Ivor ap Cadivor
Llewelyn ap Owen ap Merededd — Eleanor
Thomas ap Llewelyn of Trefgarned, Lord of S. Wales
Eleanor
Eleanor — Griffith Vychan IV
Lord of Glyndyfrdwy (a desc. of William, 2nd Earl of Surrey and wife Isabel, above)
Robert Puleston — Lowry of Emral
Owen Glendower
Angharad — John Puleston of Emral
Margaret — David ap Ievan ap Einion ("Davy Gam") Constable of Harlech Castle, 1468
Einion ap David
Llewelyn ap Einion
Griffith ap Llewelyn
Catherine vch. Griffith — Edward ap Ievan of Llanwddyn parish Montgameryshire
Lewis ap Griffith — Ellen 1525-1600, of Ysputty-Ievan, Denbigshire
Gwervyl — Robert ap Lewis of Rhiwlas, near Bala, Montgomeryshire, 1555-1645
[1]Evan ap Robert ap Lewis of Rhiwlas and Vron Goch, Merionethshire 1585-1662 — Jane

[1] Thomas Allen Glenn's *Merion in the Welsh Tract*.

Owen ap Evan
of Fron Gôch
farm d. 1669
— Gainor John, d. 1678

Cadwallader — Ellen
Thomas ap Hugh
John Cadwallader
to Penn., 1697

Jane
— Hugh Roberts
to Penn., 1683

[2]Evan ap Evan
of Vron Gôch
—twice

Cadwallader Evans
to Pennsylvania

Sarah Evans — John Hank

John Hank, Jr.

Joseph Hank

Nancy Hank(s) — Thomas Lincoln

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States

[2] Browning's *Americans of Royal Descent* (7th ed.), Addenda H.

I am not competent to discuss the European end of this line and I presume it to be correct, but the American portion omits but one opportunity to make an error: Nancy Hanks (not Hank) was indeed the mother of Abraham Lincoln. As for the rest of the American line, I remark:

1. It is useless to attempt the tracing of the descent of Abraham Lincoln through any American families with Welsh surnames.

2. If Sarah Evans married John Hank of Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania, that fact had no bearing on the lineage of Lincoln.

3. John Hank, born 1712, was not the John Hanks who was an ancestor of Lincoln, for the said John Hanks was married in June, 1714. It may be conjectured with a good degree of probability that these Pennsylvania people named Hank, some of whom migrated into the Shenandoah Valley, were of the German name of Hanke.

4. Joseph Hanks never lived in Amelia County.

5. So far as known there was no Nancy Shipley; if there was such a woman she did not marry Joseph Hanks, the ancestor of Lincoln; his wife was Ann Lee.

THE END

A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS OF IMPORTANCE ON THE LINEAGE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

The Autobiography of Abraham Lincoln. New York: Frances D. Tandy & Company, 1895.

A little book, hardly more than an advertising pamphlet, containing selections from *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln,* edited by John G. Nicolay and John Hay, which these publishers were then printing. It contains the Sketch which Lincoln prepared at the request of Jesse W. Fell and also that which he prepared for John Locke Scripps. These, with his letters to Solomon Lincoln and to his relations in Virginia and Tennessee give us the reliable foundation of knowledge of Lincoln's lineage.

Notes on the Lincoln Families of Massachusetts with Some Account of the Family of Abraham Lincoln, Late President of the United States. By Solomon Lincoln of Hingham. (Reprinted from the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for October, 1865.) Boston: David Clapp & Company, Printers, 1865.

This pamphlet of ten pages is the beginning of systematic study of the lineage of Lincoln, and is, in the main, reliable. It is, of course, very incomplete, and in some particulars is incorrect.

The Lincoln Family. Notes by Samuel Shackford of Chicago. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for April, 1887.

Mr. Shackford furnished strong circumstantial evidence of the migration of Mordecai and Abraham Lincoln of Massachusetts to New Jersey and thence to Pennsylvania, thus furnishing a route for subsequent investigations which confirmed his theory.

Book of the Prophet Stephen Son of Douglas. New York, J. F. Feeks, Publisher, 1864.

A scurrilous Copperhead tract and the first, so far as I know, to charge that Abraham Lincoln was an illegitimate son.

A Youth's History of the Great Civil War in the United States from 1861 to 1865. By R. G. Horton. New York: Van Evrie, Horton & Company, 1868.

The first historical work, so far as I am aware, that charged Lincoln with being an illegitimate son.

The Life of Abraham Lincoln from His Birth to His Inauguration as President. By Ward H. Lamon. Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1872.

Based on Herndon's manuscripts, and written in a scornful spirit by Chauncey F. Black.

Herndon's Lincoln: The True Story of a Great Life. The History and Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln. By William H. Herndon, and Jesse William Weik, A.M. In three volumes. Chicago: Belford-Clarke Co., 1890.

Contains some things in bad taste, but was conscientiously done, and is of great value.

Lee of Virginia, 1642-1892. Descendants of Colonel Richard Lee. By Edmund Jennings Lee, M.D. Privately printed, Philadelphia, 1895.

Among a considerable group of monographs on the Lee family of Virginia, this appears to be by far the most thorough and comprehensive, and is the chief source of authority in the present volume for the Lee family.

Nancy Hanks: The Story of Abraham Lincoln's Mother. By Caroline Hanks Hitchcock. With introduction by Ida M. Tarbell. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co., 1899.

Wholly unreliable.

The Ancestry of Abraham Lincoln. By J. Henry Lea and J. R. Hutchinson. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909.

Our best authority on the English Lincolns. Inaccurate as to American lineage, and unpardonable for following Mrs. Hitchcock without independent investigation, after having discovered some of her inaccuracies. It is high praise to say of it that it is not always wrong.

Abraham Lincoln, an American Migration. Family English Not German. By Marion Dexter Learned. Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1909.

A good piece of work. Begun in an investigation of a report that Lincoln was a German by descent, it traced the migration of the Lincoln family with a care which no previous volume had given to the subject.

Early Virginia Immigrants, 1623-1666. By George Cabell Greer, Clerk Virginia State Land Office. Richmond, Va. W. C. Hill Printing Co., 1913.

While not quite complete, as I have found, and containing some errors as would appear inevitable in a work so comprehensive, this book has a list of nearly twenty-five thousand names from the original records, and is a prime source of knowledge of early Virginia families.

The Soul of Abraham Lincoln. By William E. Barton. George H. Doran Company, 1900.

A study of the successive environments of the life of Lincoln and of the development of his ethical and spiritual convictions.

The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln. By William E. Barton. George H. Doran Company, 1920.

A reliable investigation of the report affecting the chastity of Abraham Lincoln's mother and a refutation of the rumors affecting his legitimacy.

The Real Lincoln. By Jesse W. Weik. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922.

An honest and valuable source-book, chiefly based on a restudy of the Herndon papers, but with valuable additions.

History of the Lincoln Family. By Waldo Lincoln. Worcester, Mass.: The Commonwealth Press, 1923.

A valuable work, the result of great labor. In some respects inaccurate, but the inaccuracies are easily discovered and eliminated.

Old Theories Upset. Being the brief report of an address on Abraham Lincoln's lost grandmother, by William E. Barton. Reprint from *The Chicago Daily News,* February 3, 1923.

This leaflet deserves mention here because it is the best newspaper report that was made at the time of an address delivered before a specially invited company of scholars and historians at the Chicago Historical Society, and was the first announcement of the rediscovery of Lucy Hanks, the grandmother of Lincoln. As the newspaper containing the report was immediately exhausted,

the reprint in a four-paged leaflet became necessary, and this has now a place in Lincoln bibliography.

The Ancestry of Abraham Lincoln. By William E. Barton. An address delivered at the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, May 23, 1924, and reprinted from the transactions of the society for that year.

Abraham Lincoln's Ancestry. By William E. Barton. An address delivered before the sixth annual Indiana History Conference, Indianapolis, December 5, 1924, and reprinted as Indiana History Bulletin, volume II, number 4.

These addresses enlarge upon the material in the reprint *Old Theories Upset* and give in outline the Lincoln family tree.

In the Footsteps of the Lincolns. By Ida M. Tarbell. Harpers, 1924.

An honest and interesting narrative of Miss Tarbell's journey over the route followed by the Lincoln family, with much good information, but with the errors to which Miss Tarbell had already committed herself in previous publications.

The Life of Abraham Lincoln. By William E. Barton. Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1925.

The chapters on the Lincolns and Hankses contain considerable material on the history of these families.

Lincoln's Parentage and Childhood. By Louis Austin Warren. Century Company, 1926.

Valuable for its documentary material, but sometimes strangely wrong in its historical interpretation.

Sarah Bush Lincoln, the Stepmother of Abraham Lincoln. By Louis A. Warren. Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1926.

Has valuable material on the family of Sarah Bush Lincoln.

Lincoln Lands and Lineage. By Louis A. Warren. Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1927.

A very good summary of the Lincoln family migration.

The Women Lincoln Loved. By William E. Barton. Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1927.

Contains reliable information concerning Lucy Hanks and her daughter, Nancy Hanks Lincoln, Lincoln's grandmother and mother.

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